NORMALIZING UNNATURALNESS:

INDEXING "FOREIGNNESS" IN JAPANESE-DUBBED VERSIONS OF AMERICAN MOVIES AND TV DRAMAS

JUNKO SAKOMOTO

(M. Translation and Linguistics), University of Western Sydney

A THESIS SUBMITTED

FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF JAPANESE STUDIES

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE

2011

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Emi Morita, who took the time to read my manuscript and gave me insightful suggestions during my work on the dissertation. Without her guidance, support and patience, I could not have completed the dissertation.

I am extremely grateful to all the participants who let me interview them and gave me valuable information.

Finally, special thanks to my dear husband, Kohei Sakomoto and my dear parents for their help, support and encouragement, and for giving me this opportunity to complete the dissertation.

Table of Contents

Summary

In Japanese dubbed versions of foreign movies and TV dramas, there is an over-use of feminine sentence-final particles and exaggerated prosody for Western female characters. However, this speech style of dubbing is not an accurate reflection of actual Japanese women's speech. Moreover, such speech style is not a reflection of how foreign women actually speak Japanese. Such speech style of dubbing seems to be unnatural and it is widely recognized as *translationese*.

In this paper, I explain that such unnatural women's speech is normalized in Japanese dubbing with an interdisciplinary approach involving translation studies such as theory of *translation norms* (Toury, 1995), the concepts of *translationese* and *dubbese*, and other disciplines such as theatre studies, gender studies, Japanese linguistics, history, and the concept of *role language* (Kinsui, 2003). This paper not only analyzes the final translation products, but also the process of how dubbed foreign female characters' voices are produced. Methodologically, there are two phases. The first phase is to identify a translational phenomenon by analyzing how foreign female characters' voices are actually dubbed in the Japanese dubbing of five selected Hollywood movies and American TV dramas in terms of the use of feminine sentence-final particles and dubbed-in voices. During the second phase, by interviewing audiovisual translators and voice actresses, I test my hypothesis which

states they purposely incorporate unnatural women's speech style in dubbed Japanese. My analysis of translation texts and interview data reveals that unnatural women's speech style used in dubbed Japanese is a virtual language functioning as *role language* (Kinsui, 2003) for marking *foreignness,* or *Westerner speech style* and, hence, has become part of the norms of dubbed Japanese. As the term, *dubbese*, has been defined as peculiarities of language spoken by characters in dubbed movies by Italian audio-visual translators (Cipollomi and Rossi as cited in Antonini, 2008). Such unnatural women's speech in Japanese dubbing is also a type of Japanese *dubbese* which is neither source language nor target language but a third genre of language. This Japanese *dubbese* has already taken root not only in Japanese audiences but also in the Japanese dubbing industry. Audiovisual translators and voice actresses tend to confirm the given norm in order to keep their jobs and because of the lack of time for producing dubbing. Therefore, the Japanese dubbing norm has not yet been broken at the present time, even though there is a budding trend, in which some directors prefer a more natural way of dubbing speech style.

List of Tables

Page

List of Figures

Page

List of Symbols for grammatical information

ACC	accusative case	POT	potential form
DP	dative particle	PRED	predicate formative
FP(F)	final particles: feminine forms	QUO	quotative marker
GEN	genitive case	SUB	subject marker
IMP	imperative form	TOP	topic particle
PAST	past form		

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When watching Japanese-dubbed versions of foreign movies and TV dramas, one may notice that feminine sentence-final particles, such as *wa*, *dawa* and *kashira*, considered one of the most salient features of so-called "women's language" in Japanese are overused. It is traditionally believed that such feminine particles function as a gender marker and represent femininity of the speakers. For example, in the following excerpt from the American TV movie, *High School Musical* (2006) an audiovisual translator assigned the feminine sentence-final particle *wa* to a dialogue of lead female character, Gabriella.

Example 1

English

"You sounded pretty convincing to me."

Japanese Translation

"Watashi	ni	wa	honshin	ni	kikoeta-***wa***"
me	DP	TOP	*true thought*	DP	*sound*:PAST-FP(F)

However, Kobayashi's (1993) study examining language variation used by different age groups of Japanese women revealed that Japanese high-school girls do not use such feminine particles, e.g. *wa*. Kobayashi's claim contradicts the translation depicted in Example 1. This example indicates that the language spoken by foreign

young female characters in Japanese dubbing does not reflect the actual language used by young Japanese women. It seems that there is a difference between Japanese dubbing and everyday Japanese as it is actually spoken by young Japanese women, in terms of the use of feminine sentence-final particles.

In addition, although the source text (English text) of this example does not have an equivalent gender marker functioning the same way as feminine particle, *wa* in dubbed Japanese, an audiovisual translator added feminine particles *wa* at the end of the utterance in the target text. It does not mean that the English language does not have gendered language, so-called "women's language". Since Robin Lakoff first published an article titled *Language and Woman's Place* in 1975, in which she argued how women have a different speech style from men, linguists have argued whether women actually speak differently than men. It is commonly believed that English "women's language" is characterized as high frequency use of tag questions and various kinds of hedges (i.e. EcKert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Coates, 2004). However, features of "women's language" in English and Japanese are not identical and any such features of English "women's language" do not occur in the source text of this example. Furthermore, such feminine sentence-final particles do not have grammatical nor denotational meaning. This means that whether or not feminine particles occur in an utterance, it does not affect the meaning of the utterance itself. It

is difficult to legitimate why the feminine particle *wa* is added to the dubbed version of Japanese in Example 1.

In the case of written texts, such as Japanese novels, it is understandable if such feminine particles are inserted because such particles function as gender markers to indicate whether a speaker is male or female without adding "she said" or "he said" to every utterance. This convenience is displayed in an excerpt from a Japanese contemporary novel titled *Sekai no owari, aruiwa hajimari* (Utano, 2008, p. 17).

Example 2

1 Husband: Japanese text
"Itanonara sassato-***dero***."
were-POT *immediately answer the phone*-IMP

English translation (author's translation)
"Answer the phone immediately if you were there."

2 Wife: Japanese text
"Ima kaette kita totoko-***nano***."
now *back* *come*: PAST *just*-FP(F)

English translation (author's translation)
"I've just come back."

3 Husband: Japanese text
"Nande dekakete tan-***da***."
why *go out* PRED

English translation (author's translation)
"Why did you go out?"

4 Wife: Japanese text

“Maa! Dare no tame ni dekaketato omotteru-***no***?”

dear! who GEN *for* DP *go out*: PAST *think*-FP(F)

English translation (author’s translation)

“Dear! For whom do you think I went out?”

This is a telephone conversation between husband and wife. As highlighted by boldface, sentence-final particles *nano* and *no* occurred in the wife’s utterances indicated in line 2 and 4 are commonly considered feminine sentence-final particles. These two feminine particles signal to the reader that the speaker is a woman. On the other hand, the husband uttered *dero*, indicated in line 1, which is the imperative form of “answer the phone” and *da*, indicated in line 3, which is the assertive form. Such imperative and assertive forms are commonly considered features of Japanese men’s speech style. Thus, the readers know the utterances in line 1 and 3 are made by a man. Such significant difference of speech style between men and women hint to Japanese readers the gender of the speaker despite the continuous dialogue as shown in Example 2.

On the other hand, in English written texts, “she said” or “he said” are added to dialogues in many cases. It is assumed that the readers of English written texts seem to have difficulties distinguishing the gender of the speaker when narrators do not note “she said” or “he said” as shown in Example 3.

Example 3

> “I’m on page eleven,” you say. “The plot’s still forming.”
> “It hit number four on the *Times* list.”
> “Don’t read that paper.”
> “You live in Denver? Going home?”
> “I’m trying.”
> “Tell me about it. Nothing but delays.”
> “Foul weather at one of hubs.”
> “Their classic line.”
> “I guess they don’t take us for much these days.”
> “Won’t touch that. Interesting news about the Broncos yesterday.”
> “Pro football’s farce.”
> “I can’t say I disagree.”

This conversation is an excerpt from an American novel titled *Up in the air* (Kirn, 2001, p. 3). This is a conversation between a protagonist, Ryan and a woman who sits next to Ryan on an airplane. As you can see, it is difficult to distinguish the gender of the speaker in such continuous dialogue without noting “she said” or “he said”. Unlike English, as Inoue (2003) points out, final particles are considered the superior “efficiency” of Japanese because readers understand the gender of the speaker without the narrator noting “she said” or “he said” (p. 322). Thus, final particles in Japanese written texts function as a signal to readers as to who is speaking.

However, unlike written texts, dubbing has visual and verbal aids for the audience to identify the gender of the speaker. The dynamic picture images and dubbed-in voice of a character of movies give not only a clue of the gender of the character, but

also age, physical appearance, and personality of the characters to the audience. The audience of Japanese dubbing would likely be able to identify the gender of the speaker without the help of such feminine particles. Despite those contradictory facts mentioned so far, the feminine particle *wa* is employed to Japanese dubbing as indicated in Example 1. Why is the feminine particle *wa* added to Gabriella's utterance?

Not only do feminine sentence-final particles seem to be overused, but voice actors' prosody does not seem to be a true reflection of young Japanese women's speech. Such speech style of foreign female characters of Japanese dubbing seems to be exaggerated and is widely recognized as one of the notable features of Japanese dubbing. This makes the language used in dubbing "unnatural" Japanese. Similar phenomena have been found and discussed as *honyaku-cho* or *translationese.* According to Hatim and Munday (2004), the term *translationese* was defined as "peculiarities of language use in translation" (p.352). Studies of Japanese *translationese* in written language, both in non-fiction (Furuno, 2005) and in contemporary popular fiction (Fukuchi, 2009), have been conducted; however, *translationese* in spoken language, specifically Japanese dubbing, has not yet been examined.

In addition, considerable studies from the standpoint of Japanese linguistics have

been conducted on how feminine sentence-final particles are employed in Japanese comics (Ueno, 2006), TV drama scripts (Mizumoto, 2006), and subtitling of foreign movies (Furukawa, 2009). However, there has been little research on the use of such feminine particles in dubbing from the perspective of translation studies. Thus, the present study examines the use of feminine particles in dubbing in terms of the concept of *translationese*.

The aim here is to examine how feminine sentence-final particles are actually used in dubbed Japanese. I will do this by comparing the use of feminine particles from a selection of young female characters, and illustrating the phenomenon of unnatural feminine speech in dubbed translation. More importantly, I will explain why feminine particles are overused and female characters' voices are dubbed with exaggerated prosody, and how such unnatural speech style of female characters functions in Japanese dubbing.

In this chapter, I have introduced the phenomenon in Japanese dubbing, the background, the purpose of the study, and the significance of the study. Chapter 2 presents the scope of translation studies, the goal of the field, and the progress of translation theories. It also addresses some of the most relevant theories involved in this research. Chapter 3 presents findings and analysis from a textual analysis of movies and TV dramas and a qualitative analysis of Japanese dubbing in American

movies and TV dramas. Chapter 4 presents findings and analysis from the interview data of audiovisual translators and voice actresses. Based on the findings in Chapter 3 and 4, Chapter 5 addresses why feminine particles are overused and female characters' voices are dubbed with exaggerated prosody in dubbed Japanese. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: TRANSLATION STUDIES

Translation scholars traditionally seek solutions to resolve difficulties encountered in the process of translating so that there is a linguistic equivalence between the source and target language. Since the 1990s, scholars of translation studies have started to analyze translation texts not only based on various kinds of linguistics equivalence (e.g. equivalence of word, grammatical and pragmatics level), but also by applying an interdisciplinary approach involving a wide range of disciplines. This inclination toward an interdisciplinary approach indicates that translation studies have entered a new era.

The main purpose of this chapter is to show how translation studies has developed from a linguistics and literary studies oriented analysis to an interdisciplinary analysis, focusing on contemporary translation scholar, Gideon Toury's (1995) significant contribution to the field, the theory of *translation norms*. In this chapter, I will present the definition of *translation* in translation studies and explain the scope of translation studies. I will also trace the goal of translation studies according to translation scholars. Next, I will demonstrate why translation analysis has moved from the comparative analysis of translation texts, in terms of linguistics equivalence between

source and target language, towards more of an interdisciplinary approach. The main purpose here is to show why an interdisciplinary approach is necessary for contemporary translation studies and how translation scholars have started to incorporate a range of disciplines for translation analysis. Third, I demonstrate Toury's (1995) most valuable contribution to the field – descriptive translation studies, theory of translation norms, and target-oriented analysis. I will focus on demonstrating how Toury's descriptive translation studies differ from the way of conventional translation scholars' methods for explaining the translation phenomena. In addition, I will explain why translation norms, one with characteristics of descriptive translation studies, are significant for contemporary translation studies. I will also explain how the concept of norms helps us understand the translational phenomena. Next, I will explain audiovisual translation, a new genre of translation studies and dubbing, as one of the forms of audiovisual translation. Next I will identify *translationese* by listing characteristic features of Japanese *translationese*, and present a new term *dubbese* coined by Italian audiovisual translators. Finally, I will position this study within translation studies and demonstrate how this study can contribute to the field.

2.1 Translation studies

2.1.1 The scope of translation studies

The term *translation* is defined as “1) the process of changing sth [something] that is written or spoken into another language; 2) a text or work that has been changed from one language into another” according to Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (Hornby et al., 2010, p. 1646). The term *translation* is divided into two notions: a product translated by translators and a process of translating from source text into target text. Whether translation is considered a product or a process, translation is regarded as an exchange of words between two languages.

According to Jakobson (1959), “translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes” (p. 233). A translator’s task is to make sure to transfer the message of the source text into the target text and, as much as possible, keep an equal amount of information from the source text. In early translation studies, the major task of translation scholars was to provide solutions for lexical and grammatical problems encountered in the process of translating. Seeking the best translation strategies in terms of linguistics has been the center of argument in translation studies for several decades. However, translation scholars came to realize that translation is not the mere exchange of words from source text into target text; socio-cultural factors are also always involved.

Translation scholars, Hatim and Munday (2004) thus defined the term *translation* in terms of a translation studies standpoint which is as follows:

> 1) the process of transferring a written text from source language to target language, conducted by a translator, or translators, in a specific socio-cultural context.
> 2) The written product, or target text, which resulted from that process and which functions in the socio-cultural context of the target language.
> 3) The cognitive, linguistic, visual, cultural and ideological phenomena which are an integral part of 1 and 2. (p. 6)

Contrary to the general meaning of *translation*, Hatim and Munday (2004) include "socio-cultural context" in the definition of translation (p. 6). They also include "the cognitive, linguistics, visual, cultural and ideological phenomena which are an integral part" in their definition of *translation* because translation scholars began to recognize that translation texts should be analyzed by a wide range of disciplines rather than the isolated analysis of translation from linguistic standpoint (p. 6). Contemporary translation studies has become enriched by incorporating other disciplines.

The interest of translation studies has also widened. Historically, interest was limited to "translation proper" or interlingual translation according to Jakobson (1959, p. 232). Jakobson distinguished translations into three types of interpretations of verbal signs. According to his typology of translation, there are three kinds of versions of translation: 1) intralingual translation, 2) interlingual translation and 3)

intersemiotic translation (ibid, p. 232). Jakobson defined intralingual translation as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language" (ibid, p. 232), for example, subtitling for the deaf and people hard of hearing. Jakobson labeled interlingual translation as "translation proper" which is "a proper interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language" (ibid, p. 232). Interlingual translation is thus what we commonly associate with translation. It is concerned mainly with grammatical structure and lexical equivalence between two languages. Intersemiotic translation is defined as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems" (ibid, p. 232). A good example of intersemiotic translation can be found in music or images. More recently, the interest of the field has gone beyond verbal signs e.g. subtitling and dubbing of foreign movies or television programs, and supertitling of plays or operas. As a consequence, the ambit of the field has also broadened.

2.1.2 Early translation studies

The study of translation has been recognized as an academic "subject" for only fifty years, although the practice of translation has a long history. Translation studies has developed as an academically independent "discipline" since the 1980s**.** In the early stage of translation studies, analysis of literature translation was part of the curriculum in linguistics and literature studies for university students. Literary

translation has been the center subject in translation studies until recently and it has been examined by comparative analysis and contrastive analysis from a linguistics standpoint. The central issue in the translation theory in the 1950s and 60s was the notion of equivalence. The term *equivalence* is defined as "a central term in linguistics-based Translation Studies relating to the relationship of similarity between ST [source text] and TT [target text] segments" (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 339). Translation scholars have argued over how translators should equivalently transfer a message from the source language into the target language. Historically, translation analysis has been about finding faults or mistranslation of individual texts in terms of such linguistics equivalence. Socio-cultural and pragmatic factors had not been incorporated.

As Bassnett (1980, 1991) points out, "translation involves far more than replacement of lexical and grammatical items between languages" (p. 25). However, early translation studies only consider linguistic equivalence of source and target texts and they tend to ignore cultural factors affecting the translation products and process. For example, Nida's (1964) analysis of literature translation based on the concept of equivalence of the source text and target text has been a subject of criticism by translation scholars since the late 1970s. It is because Nida's scientific approach failed to account for the cultural implications of translation approaches according to

Gentzler (2001) and Munday (2001). Munday (2001) points out that analysis of literature translation from the 1950s to the 1960s does not incorporate a socio-cultural and pragmatic dimension. Much later, translation scholars have begun to consider pragmatic equivalence for translation analysis. For example, in her influential course book for practicing and trainee translators, *In Other Words*, Baker (1992) examined various types of translation texts at different kinds of equivalence - not only at the word and grammatical, but also at the pragmatic level. This book had a great influence on other translation scholars since Baker (1992) included various aspects of pragmatic equivalence for translation analysis. In her book, Baker (1992) acknowledged that equivalence "is influenced by a variety of linguistic and cultural factors and is therefore always relative" (p. 6). More recently, translation scholars have begun to realize the importance of incorporating socio-cultural disciplines in translation analysis in place of the isolated linguistics-based translation analysis.

Long before translation studies' move to a socio-cultural centered translation analysis, James S. Holmes, who is a Dutch-based US scholar-translator suggested in his conference paper on "The name and nature of translation studies" originally presented at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in 1972[1], that translation studies needs to incorporate other fields of discipline. Holmes (1998,

[1] Although Holmes's paper first presented at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in 1972, it was published only much later in 1988 and reprinted in 2000.

2000) stressed that translation studies needs to cut across the traditional disciplines to reach all scholars working in the field, regardless of their individual background. Holmes's mapping of translation studies shed new light on the development of the field and manifested the direction of the field towards an interdisciplinary approach that will be discussed in more depth in the following section.

2.1.3 Interdisciplinary approach: beyond isolated linguistic-based translation analysis

As discussed in the previous section, comparative and contrastive analyses have been conducted based on the concept of linguistic equivalence and had previously dominated translation studies. The goal of the field has been a quest to find the best translation strategies in which the audience of a target language gets the equivalent amount of information held by the audience of a source language. Translation scholars have mainly argued linguistic quality of literature translation. They have continuously worked on developing theories that suggest the appropriate procedure for translation.

Almost 20 years after Holmes first presented his paper on the mapping of translation studies, translation studies has grown in importance of translation analysis interfacing with other areas of disciplines – literature studies as well as semiotics,

ethnology and psychology (see in Snell-Hornby, 1995, p. 32). This shift toward an interdisciplinary approach indicates that translation scholars such as Toury (1980, 1995) began to acknowledge that the translation phenomena cannot be explained by a single theory or discipline, but by various fields of study. According to Gentzler (2001), one of the most important shifts in theoretical development in translation studies, taking place in the 1980s and 1990s, is the shift to include socio-cultural factors as well as linguistic elements in translation analysis.

For example, Even-Zohar's polysystem (1978, 2000) significantly contributes to the translation studies' movement in which it became more of a socio-cultural based analysis of translation. As Gentzler (2001) points out, polysystem theory has led to three advancements as follows. First, contrary to earlier translation theorists, polysystem theory analyzes translated text alongside the social, historical and cultural context. Second, polysystem theory departed from the isolated study of individual texts to textual analysis always involved a multitude of relationships with other elements in other systems at both the center and margins of a culture. Third, polysystem theory has expanded the theoretical boundaries of translation studies into a larger cultural context. Thus, polysystem theory led translation scholars to the escape of repeated arguments over linguistic equivalence between source texts and target texts. Polysystem theory enables us to understand translation texts alongside

economical, cultural and historical factors; not just isolated linguistic arguments over translation equivalence.

This translation studies' movement toward socio-cultural analysis is called *the cultural turn*, whose name was given later by "cultural studies oriented translation theorists to refer to the analysis of translation in its cultural, political and ideological context" (Hatim &Munday, 2004, p. 337). For example, translation texts have been analyzed from gender studies (e.g. Simon, 1996) and postcolonialiam standpoints (e.g. Niranjana, 1992). These two approaches are the most prominent in the cultural turn in translation studies and their central issues are power relations between languages and cultures. This cultural turn, initiated by works of translation theorists such as Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978, 2000), offered new insights and broader views to the field of translation studies. The cultural turn in analysis of translation is a true signal of the interdisciplinary nature of contemporary translation studies. In contemporary translation studies, translation scholars became more aware of the need of an interdisciplinary approach for translation analysis. Recently, the cultural and ideological features of translation analyses have become the center of arguments in the field.

2.1.4 Descriptive translation studies: translations as empirical facts of target culture

Inspired by Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978, 2000), which contributes to the development of the field by advocating the importance of incorporating cultural factors into the field, Toury (1995) further developed *descriptive translation studies*. The term *descriptive translation studies* is defined by Hatim and Munday (2004) as "a branch of Translation Studies, developed in most detail by Toury (1995), that involves the EMPIRICAL, non-PRESCRIPTIVE analysis of STs [source texts] and TTs [target texts] with the aim of identifying general characteristics and LAWS OF TRANSLATION" (p. 338, emphasis by Hatim and Munday).

Toury's descriptive translation studies (1980, 1985, 1995) opposes translation studies' long-held stance on translation analysis which was the concept of translation equivalence, source text-oriented approach and prescriptive approach. Early translation studies tend to look at one-to-one ratios of equivalence from a linguistic point-of-view. Toury, on the other hand, considers translation within the entire social context - social, cultural, economical and political norms - of the target system involved in a translator's decision. As a rationale of descriptive translation studies, Toury (1980) explains that there is not one framework or one basic type of approach for accounting for translational phenomena. Rather translation scholars need to

concern themselves with various theoretical frameworks in order to understand every possible translational phenomenon. As Hatim and Munday (2004) point out, Toury's descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic approach diverge from discussions about literal vs. free translation, translatability, textual analysis of source and target texts, and equivalence of meaning, to focus on cultural-centered translation.

Toury (1980) expresses his doubt about conventional methods and goal of the field that translation scholars have taken for granted for several decades. First, he re-questions the notion of equivalence of translation. He points out that equivalence is a feature of all translation, because they are thought to be translations, no matter what the quality. He suggests that there is no such thing as a wrong translation or mistranslation as long as the translation is accepted as translation in the target culture and language. This new idea of equivalence changes the way translation scholars view what they had believed was the best and only translation analysis for decades.

Second, contrary to the conventional approaches of translation analysis, Toury (1995) also suggests that translation texts should be analyzed from the target culture and language standpoint. Target text-oriented analysis is one of the features of descriptive translation studies. As Toury (1985) explained in his paper, *A Rationale for Descriptive Translations*:

> Semiotically speaking, it will be clear that it is the *target* or *recipient culture*, or a certain section of it, which serves as the *initiator* of the decision to translate and of the translating process. Translating as a teleological activity *par excellence* is to a large extent conditioned by the goals it is designed to serve, and these goals are set in, and by, the prospective receptor system(s). Consequently, translators operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture *into* which they are translating, and not in the interest of the source text, let alone the source culture. (p. 18-19, emphasis by Toury)

This view of translating led him to analyze translation texts from the target text-oriented perspective observing how translation actually functions in the target language and culture. He (1980) suggests that the target-oriented analysis enables us to explain every phenomenon occurring or capable of occurring in translation. On the other hand, the conventional way of translation analysis - source text-oriented and the prescriptive analysis - only enumerates isolated translational facts. Thus, he (1995) claims that translation should be considered as empirical facts of target cultures and target-oriented analysis only gives us an explanation of possible relationship or potential equivalence of translation.

Third, Toury (1980) suggests that narrow and fixed prescriptive theories should be replaced by a broader and more flexible descriptive oriented approach, which may be able to account for every text regarded as a translation, and for the occurrence of every phenomenon. Unlike prescriptive theories, descriptive theories tend to be concerned with what translations are usually like in a particular context, rather than

the ways in which particular translations might differ as Pym points out (2010). The descriptive approach enables us to identify similarities among final products of translations and assume that such similarities are governed by "translation norms" (Toury, 1995) shared by translators. We are thus able to talk about the "norms" that lead the way a translation is produced and govern the behavior of translators. Translational norms might enable us to generalize translation behaviors and to understand the translational phenomena. I will discuss *translation norms* in more detail in the following section.

2.1.5 Translation norms as generalizing translation behaviors

As noted in the previous section, *translation norms*, one of the most notable theoretical concepts of descriptive translation studies, make it possible for us to understand the translators' behavior in the process of translating. The term, *norms*, has been used various ways in translation studies, but its most influential approach has been developed by the descriptive translation theorists, notably Toury. In his book, *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, Toury (1980) developed theory of translation norms by adopting the concept of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978, 2000). Toury (1995) explained that the term *norms* is regarded as:

> the translation of general values or ideas by community – as to what is right or wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for

> and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioral dimension. (p. 55)

Here, Toury suggests that contrary to the assumptions within early translation studies, "translation is not merely a transfer operation between two languages but also an exercise constrained by social norms" (p. 53). This indicates that translation norms are closely related to social norms of the target culture and language. Translators' decisions or behaviors largely depend on the norms accepted in the community to which they belong. Translation norms act as a "model" of translation accepted in the target culture and language. Toury (1980) points out that in translation studies, translation norms are considered as "intersubjective factors influencing, and to a large extent even determining, the choice of translational solutions" (p. 62). Therefore, the theory of translation norms enables us to generalize the decision-making process of translation and to reconstruct the norms, which can explain the translation phenomenon as it manifests in translation.

Toury's (1980) case study of a Hebrew literary translation reveals that Hebrew texts (the target text), which are only partially linguistically and functionally equivalent to the source text, are actually accepted in the target culture as translation. He concluded that the reason for a general lack of concern for fidelity to the source text is not due to translators' negligence, but is because their goal is to achieve an

acceptable translation in the target culture. He (1995) also suggests that translation should sit between two poles of *adequacy* and *acceptability* in *initial norms*, balancing translators' choice of two polar directions of translating; *adequacy* and *acceptability* (p. 56-57). Toury (1995) defines one of his advocated norms, *initial norms,* as follows: "whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's *adequacy* as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its *acceptability*" (p. 56-57). *Initial norms* are fundamental choices made by an individual translator, which he/she conforms to the norms of the source text or those of the target text. *Initial norms* placed at the top of the hierarchy of the entire translation norms. Whether a translator chooses *adequacy* or *acceptability* has an effect on the following decisions made by the translator.

There are other norms in addition to *initial norms* in translation studies. After Toury published his book, *In Search of a Theory of Translation* in 1980, other translation scholars developed further norms. For example, Chesterman (1997) proposed *expectancy norms* which "are established by the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like" (p. 64). Thus, we can assume that a translators' decision on the language use is largely influenced by expectancy norms of the target audiences. This norm enables us to understand what translators think they are supposed to do, what clients expect

translators ought to do, and what the audience or readers of translated products expect from the translation.

However, as Pym (2010) points out, “the norm was not represented by all translators; norms are not law that everyone has to follow. Norms are more like a common standard practice in terms of which all other types of practice are worked” (p. 73). Although norms cannot normalize every translational phenomenon as Pym (2010) points out, at the present time, translation norms might be the only way to understand the process of translating because choices made by a translator during translation are not directly observable.

In this chapter, we have reviewed the development of translation studies as an academic discipline and determined why contemporary translation studies needs a socio-cultural centered analysis rather than an isolated linguistic-based analysis. We have also seen that translation norms, one of the theoretical concepts of descriptive translation studies, aim at identifying rules or laws of translation behavior, as opposed to conventional translation studies, which tend to find mistranslation and suggest a better solution from a linguistic standpoint. Translation studies has undergone a radical change from prescriptive to descriptive approach and mere linguistic-based analysis to interdisciplinary approach, and its focus of interest has also broadened from literature translation to audiovisual translation which will be

discussed in more depth in the following section.

2.2 Audiovisual translation as a new genre of translation studies

Historically, literature translation has dominated translation studies, however, recently the interest of the field has started to widen. With development in digital technology, the study of audiovisual translation has developed rapidly since 2000. According to *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, "audiovisual translation is a branch of translation studies concerned with the transfer of multimodal and multimedial texts into another language and/or culture" (Baker & Saldanha, 2009, p. 13). Audiovisual translation includes translation of foreign movies, TV programs, animations, documentaries, news and plays.

In the early stages of audiovisual translation research, the main debate concerned the merits and preferences of subtitling or dubbing. This debate still continues. Traditionally, subtitling dominated audiovisual translation studies which meant that compared to the amount of studies on interlinguistic subtitling, there have been far fewer studies on dubbing. In addition, unlike European countries such as Italy, Spain and France, commonly labeled "dubbing countries[2]" (Antonini & Chiaro, 2009, p. 97), translation scholars in Japan, which has historically been a subtitling oriented country,

[2] As one of the most significant works of audiovisual translation scholars in so-called "dubbing countries", Italian audiovisual translators coined the term *dubbese*. It refers to the peculiar language use of dubbing and will be discussed in detail in 2.3.1.

have paid little attention to dubbing. Those works in dubbing are mainly written in non-English languages, e.g. Italian and Spanish. Therefore, for multiple reasons, the research of dubbing has not been an easily accessible field for non-dubbing-oriented nations outside of Europe.

As Gambier (2008) points out, audiovisual translation is actually a multi-semiotic mixture of many different elements such as images, sounds, language (spoken and written), and gestures – all incorporated into various audiovisual codes to create audiovisual products. Thus, textual-based analysis of translated scripts might not be sufficient. Not only scripts, but also voices and images need to be analyzed. In order to analyze such various semiotic elements involved in audiovisual translation, it is necessary to take on an interdisciplinary approach.

2.2.1 Dubbing

Dubbing is one of the forms of audiovisual translation. According to *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, "in the field of audiovisual translation, dubbing denotes the re-recording of the original voice track in the target language using dubbing actors' voices" (Baker & Saldanha, 2009, p. 17). For example, Japanese audiences watch foreign actors perform with Japanese dubbed-in voice dubbed by Japanese voice actors. Illusion created here is that foreign actors speak Japanese very

fluently as if they were Japanese native speakers. Not to say that it is unique to Japanese audience, it seems that the audience of dubbed translation of foreign dramas or movies spontaneously handles a highly complicated process. Unlike written translation, dubbing consists of images, dubbed-in voices, written translated scripts, acting performance of foreign actors, and the combination such elements. This makes dubbing complex.

Not only dubbing itself, but also the process of dubbing seems to be complex. According to Kaneda (2009), the production uses the following process for dubbing foreign movies and dramas into Japanese; first, the production chooses an audiovisual translator and a director. Second, the audiovisual translator translates each episode in five to seven days while at the same time the production casts the Japanese dubbed version of dramas and movies. Next, the director proofreads the translation, and divides it into scripts for the whole cast. Finally, the dubbing starts with each episode taking a few hours and a full movie taking closer to eight hours. In most cases, directors of Japanese dubbing cannot understand transcripts written in English, which means the audiovisual translators play a large role in the dubbing. Therefore, the choice of speech style in the dialogue is largely dependent on the audiovisual translators. Through this process, one can notice that dubbing involves multiple steps and many more people are involved than written translation and subtitling. Those

involved include translators, voice actors, producers, and directors.

As previously mentioned in the introduction, the language use of dubbing is often considered unnatural target language. Such unnatural spoken language of dubbing is often called *translationese* (e.g. Hatim & Munday, 2004), which will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 *Translationese*

The term *translationese* is defined as a pejorative term for translated language according to Hatim and Munday (2004). It is used to indicate a stilted form of the target language from tracing the source language lexical or syntactic patterning (Duff, 1981). Some studies of Italian audiovisual translation identify *translationese* as one of the main characteristics of language use in Italian dubbing. For example, Bucaria (2008) points out that formulaic language is widely used in Italian dubbing. Thus, the language use of dubbing and the concept of *translationese* are closely connected. *Translationese* is not a new term in translation studies and has often been used in arguments over the qualities of language use in translation. In general, translation scholars share the same view that *translationese* is a far cry from everyday spoken target language.

Course books for translation (e.g. Kono, 2003) often suggest that the language used in translation should be as close to everyday spoken target language as possible. Such

course books often claim that translations should be natural target texts as if it were written in the target language. The closer the language use of translation is to everyday spoken target language, the better the translation. Free vs. literal translation is often the main argument over *translationese*. As Hatim and Munday (2004) states, free translation is "a translation that modifies surface expression and keeps intact only deeper levels of meaning" (p. 340), while literal translation is "a rendering which preserves surface aspects of the message both semantically and syntactically, adhering closely to ST [source text] mode of expression" (p. 344). The term free translation suggests a good translation, whereas, the term literal translation has more of a negative connotation and suggests a bad translation. According to Hatim and Munday (2004), literal translation is often connoted *translationese*.

As Wakabayashi (1996) points out, however, Japanese *translationese* does not have as many negative implications as in English. Historically, Japanese written translation has been strongly associated with *translationese*, but in fact it has been widely accepted by Japanese readers (Furuno, 2005). According to Furuno (2005), since acquiring knowledge from the West was vital for the development of Japan in the 19th century, authenticity and naturalness of language in translation was considered to be sidelined. *Adequacy* has been considered much more important than *acceptability*[3] of

[3] As noted in 2.1.4, the terms, *adequacy* and *acceptability* are used in *initial norms*, one of translation norms developed by Toury (1995), which are primary choices made by translators.

the target language and as a result, Japanese readers came to accept unnatural language use in translation.

Furuno's (2005) study investigating Japanese readers' tolerance of *translationese* in non-fiction translations suggested that Japanese readers generally expect unnatural Japanese in translations, and the same Japanese readers cannot easily distinguish translated texts from non-translated texts. She concluded that this might be a result of the call for naturalness in translation in the last decades. More importantly, she offered an alternative explanation that *translationese* has been prevalent in Japanese readers for so long that it has become a part of the Japanese language of non-fiction texts in spite of the fact that its language use is unnatural. Thus, Japanese readers have difficulty distinguishing authentic Japanese from translated Japanese in non-fiction.

Practicing translators and Japanese translation scholars have identified the characteristic features of Japanese *translationese* as 1) use of overt personal pronouns (Miyawaki, 2000); 2) more frequent use of loanwords (Yanabu, 1982, 1998); 3) use of female specific language (Kono, 1999); and 4) longer paragraphs (Miyawaki, 2000). Fukuchi (2009) tried to compare Japanese translations of contemporary

---

Translators can make a choice either subscribing to the norm of source language and culture, or to the norm of target language and culture. If the choice of a translator is towards to the source norm, then target text will be adequate. On the other hand, if the target norms are subscribed, then the target text will be acceptable.

popular fiction with non-translation fiction in terms of characteristic features of Japanese *translationese* noted previously. On one hand, she confirmed the fact that the overuse of third person pronouns and longer paragraphs are assuredly features of *translationese*; on the other hand, her findings of the overuse of female specific language is contrary to the shared perception that feminine particles are overused in translation.

Fukuchi's (2009) findings show that two out of six feminine sentence-final particles chosen for her study (i.e. verb/adjective-*wa* and verb/adjective-*wayo*) are used slightly more frequent in translations of contemporary popular fiction than in non-translated texts. On the other hand, other four feminine particles (i.e. verb/adjective-*no,* noun-*yo,* verb/adjective-*teyo* and verb/adjective-*noyo*) are used more often in non-translated texts than in translation. She suggests that this result contradicts the common perception that feminine particles are overused in translation texts. However, there is little difference in the frequency of verb/adjective-*wayo,* verb/adjective-*teyo* and verb/adjective-*noyo* between translated and non-translated texts. This study rather seems to indicate that feminine particles are frequently used in written texts of popular fiction regardless of whether or not texts are translated or non-translated.

As Inoue (2003) points out, final particles such as verb/adjective-*wa* and

verb/adjective-*wayo* are notable in written texts because, as already mentioned in the introduction, sentence-final particles function as gender markers in written texts. The readers of Japanese written texts are thus able to distinguish the gender of the speaker without any indication of the character's gender. Therefore, those sentence-final particles can be considered superior "efficiency" of Japanese and highly significant in written Japanese (Inoue, 2003, p. 322). Hypothetically, such final particles would be less notable in dubbing than those in written texts because with the help of visual images and dubbed-in voice, the audience of Japanese dubbing can easily understand whether the speaker is a man or a woman. Thus, we assume that sentence-final particles are used less in Japanese dubbing. However, very few attempts have been made to look at the use of such sentence-final particles in Japanese dubbing. It is still important to examine how female specific language, one characteristic of Japanese *translationese*, is used in dubbed translation.

2.3.1 *Dubbese*

In the previous section *translationese* was defined as peculiarities of language use in translation. *Translationese* is used for general translation regardless of the type of translation e.g. literature, subtitling or dubbing. In this section, I will introduce a more specific term of *translationese* used only in dubbed translation. It is called *dubbese*

and has a negative implication of the linguistic hybrid that over the decades has emerged as the "standard" variety of Italian spoken by characters in dubbed movies (Cipolloni & Rossi as cited in Antonini, 2008, p.136). According to Antonini (2008), *dubbese* is not the language spoken by TV presenters and journalists, but the language spoken in all movies, cartoons, sitcoms, and any other translated foreign products.

As Bucaria (2008) mentioned in her paper's footnote, "the term *dubbese* was originally used with a negative connotation", but in her present study it is meant to refer to the language variety used in dubbing (p. 150). Several studies of Italian *dubbese* show that *dubbese* is not negatively perceived. For example, studies of an Italian audience examine the crucial question of whether dubbing language is accepted or rejected and the outcome shows that the Italian audience is willing to accept *dubbese* (Antonini, 2008; Antonini & Chiaro, 2009; Bucaria, 2008). Antonini and Chiaro (2009) studied the audience's perception of Italian *dubbese* and it reveals that none of the dubbing features are actually rejected.

The study of Antonini and Chiaro (2009) also reveals that a significant number of audiences are perfectly aware of the fact that, for example, *già* is an Italian *dubbese*, and are willing to accept it on screen but admit to not using it themselves (p.111). In other words, respondents generally give all elements a pass mark in terms of likelihood of occurrence in dubbing, but they are hardly convinced of their

Italianness. In addition, Bucaria's (2008) study which examines the audience feeling regarding the formulaic language of dubbing, revealed that audiences and audiovisual translator professionals, engaging in the dubbing and subtitling industries, consider dubbed language a language with its own rules and norms. Not only it is completely separated from everyday Italian, but dubbed language does not even try to emulate the target language. Thus, the audience is aware that the language used in dubbing differs from everyday spoken Italian. In addition, respondents are aware that a dubbed TV translation is unlike real Italian, but are willing to accept it on screen. This is similar to a situation of the study of Antonini and Chiaro (2009), in which Italian respondents acknowledge that while they notice their children use expressions like "wow", they do not and would not use the form themselves (p.112). These are clear signals of language awareness: the Italian audience accepts the language spoken in an imported movie as *dubbese,* and at the same time they are aware that *dubbese* is a virtual language spoken by characters in dubbing.

Aligning with studies of Japanese *translationese* as discussed in the previous section, those studies of Italian *dubbese*, as mentioned above, reiterate that the formulaic language of dubbing is not currently evaluated negatively, but rather recognized as *third cord* (Frawley, 1984) and *third language* (Duff, 1981). Frawley (1984) claims "the translation itself, as a matter of fact, is essentially a third cord

which arises out of the bilateral consideration of the matrix and target cords" (p. 168). Likewise, Duff (1981) points out that "the translator who imposes the concepts of one language on to another is no longer moving freely from one world to another but instead creating a third world - and a *third language*" (p. 10). These terms indicate that *dubbese* belongs neither as a source language nor a target language, but rather is another language with its own norms.

On the other hand, Pavesi (as cited in Bucaria 2008, p. 162) regards dubbed language as "the third norm" in a negative way, in which "*dubbese* takes as reference not the source language or the target language, but *dubbese* itself, a third language that keeps reinforcing its repertoire of formulae, translational clichés, and other examples of formulaic language through repeated use". Pavesi (2008) also points out that as spoken language in film, dubbing is in fact always carefully well prepared, and never impromptu, unlike the language used in real context. This again conforms to the studies of Italian *dubbese* that is a third genre of language different from everyday spoken language and governed by its own norms.

In this section, only studies of Italian *dubbese* were provided since the Italians have one of the few studies on *dubbese*. As mentioned in 2.2, studies of dubbing have been conducted mainly by translation scholars in European countries such as Italy and Spain, which practice dubbing more than other countries. Translation scholars in

Japan, which has historically been a subtitling oriented country, have yet conducted the study of Japanese *dubbese*. According to Romero-Fresco (2006), *dubbese*, is gradually consolidating itself, even though the features of *dubbese* may differ across languages. For example, the characteristics features of Italian *dubbese* are related to lexical items in most cases, whereas those of Japanese *dubbese* might be more related to pragmatic aspects. This relatively new concept of *dubbese* enables us to understand the translational phenomenon in Japanese dubbing.

2.4 Summary of Chapter 2

In summary, throughout this chapter, we have seen the development of translation studies as it has emerged as an independent discipline. In the early stages of the field, comparative and contrastive analyses from linguistics and literature studies standpoint dominated the methods of translation analysis. Contrary to early translation studies' approach, Toury's (1980, 1985, 1995) descriptive translation studies – target-oriented, descriptive and functional approaches – cast new light on audiovisual translations. As Gambier (2008) suggests, descriptive translation studies have the capability of helping develop audiovisual translation studies, with Toury's (1995) concept of norms. Toury (1995) suggests that a norm-governed type of behavior applies to all kinds of translations, not only to literary translation. In addition, Toury (1995) claims that in

principle, the concept of translation norms is valid for every society and historical period. Díaz Cintas analyzes the validity, the functionality and the applicability of Toury's descriptive translation studies in the field of audiovisual translation. Díaz Cintas (2004) suggests that descriptive translation studies is intrinsically operative and functional as heuristic tools in research on audiovisual translation. He concludes that descriptive translation studies is an operative and functional tool in the field and offers an ideal platform for audiovisual translation research.

Unlike traditional translation analysis, this study does not provide solutions for, or even suggestions on, the translation phenomenon of Japanese dubbing - over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody of foreign female characters' speech. Instead, as Toury (1995) suggests, this study treats translations as facts of the target culture and language. This study intends to describe and explain why this particular translation phenomenon occurs in Japanese dubbing. The following chapter will analyze the phenomenon of Japanese dubbing – unnaturalness of foreign characters' speech style - using Toury's theory of translation norms. Following Toury (1995), who claims that the translational phenomenon cannot be explained by a single discipline or theory, the present study encompasses the consideration of various fields such as the notion of *translationese* and *dubbese*, theatre studies, gender studies, Japanese linguistics, history, and culture. This study attempts to prove the validity of

Toury's (1995) theory of translation norms by accounting for the translational phenomenon of Japanese dubbing.

CHAPTER III

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN MOVIES AND TV DRAMAS

In the previous chapter, I discussed the wide range of disciplines involved in current translation analysis. In addition, we discussed Toury's (1995) theory of translation norms, which can provide an explanatory hypothesis which may help us understand the phenomena of translation. Translators often follow norms which are typically shared among translators belonging to the same community. Translation norms function as models for translations, moreover readers are able to identify dubbing norms. As Toury (1995) points out, translation norms are not directly observable, therefore we need to reconstruct norms to account for the phenomenon in dubbing. Toury (1995) explains that there are two major sources for a reconstruction of translational norms; one is through a textual analysis of translated texts themselves, and the other is through an extratextual analysis, e.g. of statements made by translators, editors, and publishers. This chapter will identify translation norms of Japanese dubbing by an analysis incorporating socio-cultural factors beyond the mere linguistics oriented analysis.

Before we start textual analysis, I will explain feminine sentence-final particles and provide a classification of gendered particle forms which are the key elements of my study. Next, I will explore previous media studies in which Japanese linguists

examine the extent to which feminine particles are used in Japanese TV scripts, Japanese subtitling, and translated Japanese novels based on the commonly used classification of gendered particles. Third, I will use quantitative analysis to examine the validity of my initial observation of feminine sentence-final particles being over-used in dubbed Japanese versions of American TV dramas. Finally, in order to identify translation norms, I will examine dubbed Japanese scripts of other American movies and TV dramas by comparing the use of feminine particles of female characters in dubbing with actual language use of Japanese women, and dubbed-in voice by comparing the voice pitch of dubbed-in voices with Japanese women.

3.1 Feminine sentence-final particles

Japanese linguists (e.g. Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; McGloin, 1990) have traditionally associated sentence-final particles with the speaker's sex since some particles are mainly, or exclusively, used by men or by women. For example, *zo*, *ze*, and *na* are primarily used by men, whereas *wa*, *kashira*, and *wane* are mainly used by women according to Ide (1979, 1982, 1990) and McGloin (1990). Particles mainly used by men are called masculine sentence-final particles, whereas particles mainly used by women are called feminine sentence-final particles. Feminine sentence-final particles are considered the most salient feature of so-called "women's language" in Japanese.

Japanese linguists traditionally classify particles such as *wa*, *kashira*, and *wane* as feminine sentence-final particles. An example of feminine sentence-final particle, *wa*, is given below.

Example 4

Japanese
"Kawaii-***wa***."
pretty-FP(F)

English
"It is pretty."

It is not absolute, but such particles often occur at the end of a sentence. That is why these particles have often been called "sentence-final particles". Given that such particles do not have a grammatical or denotational meaning, their appearance at the end of the sentence does not affect the prepositional meaning of the sentence.

Today's so-called "women's language" is believed to have originated in schoolgirl speech in Japan in the late 19th century. Young women of the elite class who attended a women's secondary school were called *jyogakusee* (schoolgirls). They started to use their own speech style called *jyogakusee kotoba* (schoolgirl speech) or *teyo-dawa* speech.[4] Later, schoolgirl speech started to be used by more mature women. It is now

[4] It is a speech style of schoolgirls in late 19th century, in which sentence-final particles such as *teyo* and *dawa* occurred at the end of their utterances. *Teyo-dawa* speech and schoolgirl speech are interchangeable. *Teyo-dawa* speech is not observable in conversations of contemporary Japanese women but other features of schoolgirl speech such as feminine sentence-final particles *wa*, *dawa*,

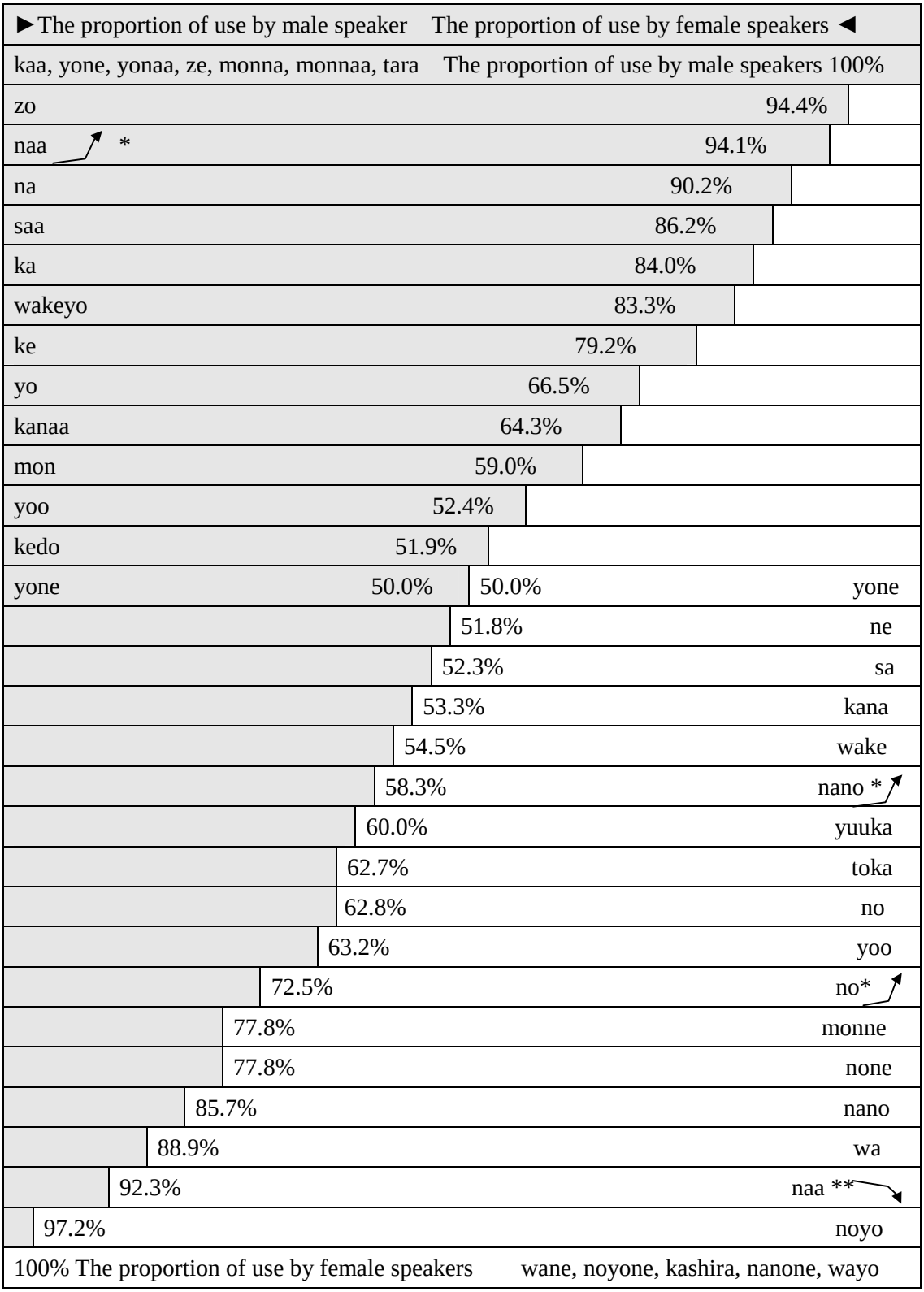
called “women’s language” and associated with the gentleness and elegance of Japanese women. This is because Japanese linguists (e.g. Horii, 1990, 1993; Shibatani, 1990) have traditionally considered women’s speech style related to that of a women’s image; soft and gentle. In particular, feminine sentence-final particles which are considered the most notable characteristic features of so-called “women’s language” index softness or gentleness of female speakers according to Japanese linguists (e.g. Horii, 1990, 1993; Shibatani, 1990; Kobayashi, 2007). Linguists thus came to think that women who use feminine particles are regarded as feminine, and as a result, Japanese linguists and Japanese in general, view feminine particles, like *wa,* as representing the femininity of the speaker.

As shown in Figure 1, Ide’s (1979) quantitative analysis shows that sentence-final particles such as *wane, noyone, kashira*, *nanone*, and *wayo* are considered feminine forms because such particles are exclusively used by female speakers. Likewise, the particle *wa* is much more frequently used by women as opposed to men, thus the particle *wa* is also categorized as a feminine particle.

---

and *kashira* are now recognized as so-called “women’s language” in Japanese.

Figure 1 Frequency of the use of sentence-final particles according to the gender of the speakers



* indicates rising tone ** indicates falling tone

(Source: Ide, 1979, pp. 8-9)

Based on this idea of gendered sentence-final particles, McGloin (1990), Mizutani & Mizutani (1987), Okamoto (1995), Okamoto and Sato (1992), and Shibamoto (1985) developed a well-known classification of gendered sentence-final particle forms as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1 Commonly used classification of gendered sentence-final particle forms (e.g. McGloin, 1990; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1987; Okamoto, 1995; Okamoto & Sato, 1992; Shibamoto, 1985)

Gender association	**Sentence-final particles**
Strongly feminine form	1. *wa* including *wane, wayo* and *wayone* 2. *no* including *nano*, *nanone, nanoyo* and *nanoyone* 3. *noyo* *4. kashira*
Moderately feminine form	1. *no* after an i-adjective alone, a verb alone, or followed by *ne* or *yone* 2. *yo* or *yone* after a noun or na-adjective *3. desho* 4. *no* for question
Neutral forms	1. the plain form 2. *yo* followed by *ne* *3. kana* *4. naa*
Moderately masculine form	1. yo after a plain form of a verb or i-adjective 2. *da*, *dane*, *dayo* and *dayone*
Strongly masculine form	*1. ze* *2. zo* 3. the plain imperative form of a verb alone, or followed by *yo*

Sentence-final particles are first divided into feminine or masculine forms, and then are further subdivided into classifications of strong or moderate. For example, the particle *wa* is categorized into a *strongly feminine* form. As indicated in Figure 1, according to Ide (1979), feminine particles that have a higher percentage of proportion of use by female speakers should be regarded as strongly feminine forms, whereas feminine particles that have a lower percentage than strongly feminine forms are considered as moderately feminine forms. Likewise, particles that have even lower percentages than moderately feminine forms are considered neutral forms and are almost equally used by men and women. Japanese scholars who have similar views on the classification of gendered language developed now commonly use classification of gendered sentence-final forms, as shown in Table 1. Based on the classification of gendered particles, as demonstrated in Table 1, a great deal of media studies has been conducted and the detail of these studies will be discussed in the following section.

3.2 Media studies on the use of feminine sentence-final particles

Based on the classification of gendered particle forms, as shown in Table 1, numerous media studies (e.g. Furukara, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006; Ueno, 2006) have examined the frequency of sentence-final particles in fictional products. In this section, I give an

overview of these media studies, and trace how previous media studies have examined the use of gendered sentence-final particles in TV drama scripts, translated novels, and subtitled versions of movies.

The rationale behind these media studies comes from the claim that a considerable number of studies on gendered language suggests the evolution of a less prominent distinction between women's and men's speech in Japanese (e.g. Endo, 2002; McGloin, 1990; Ogawa, 2006; Okamoto, 1995; Ozaki, 1997; Philips, 2001; Reynolds, 1993). These studies suggest that nowadays young Japanese women use less feminine sentence-final particles. Ozaki (1997) explains the decrease in the use of feminine sentence-final particles in the workplace. Philips (2001) shows that young female speakers prefer neutral or moderately masculine sentence-final particles such as *yone*, *dane* or *na*. Endo (2002) points out that women often use *dayo* and *yo* with the plain form of the verb or after the i-adjective which used to be considered masculine forms. Thus, recent studies of gendered particles have argued that in reality the majority of young Japanese women use less feminine particles.

On the contrary, feminine sentence-final particles still seem to be heavily used in novels, TV drama scripts, computer games, animation, and translations of foreign movies and TV dramas. Media studies (e.g. Furukawa, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006; Ueno, 2006) have examined such a contradiction between the worlds of fiction and reality in

terms of the use of feminine particles.

For example, Furukawa (2009) explores whether the gap exists between female characters' speech pattern in the Japanese translated novel of *Bridget Jones's Diary*, the subtitled version of the film of the same title, and the actual language practice of Japanese women in terms of the use of feminine sentence-final particles. Table 2 shows the difference between the use of gendered sentence-final particles in an actual language practice of Japanese women, a translated Japanese novel, and a subtitled version of the film *Bridget Jones's Diary*.

Table 2 Use of gendered sentence-final forms (Actual language practices among Japanese women, translated Japanese of BJD novel and subtitles of BJD film)

Sentence final particles	**Total Token Used (%)**		
	Actual speech style (Okamoto & Sato 1992)	Japanese translation of BJD novel	Japanese subtitles of BJD film
Feminine forms	**24%**	**45.22%**	**45.00%**
Strongly feminine forms	12%	28.70%	45.00%
Moderately feminine forms	12%	16.52%	0.00%
Masculine forms	**14%**	**0.87%**	**0.00%**
Strongly masculine forms	0%	0.87%	0.00%
Moderately masculine forms	14%	0.00%	0.00%
Neutral forms	**62%**	**53.91%**	**55.50%**

(Source: Furukawa, 2009, pp. 7)

We can see that neutral forms are more frequent in the actual context than in the novel

translation and film subtitles. On the other hand, feminine forms are much more frequent in the novel translation and subtitled version of film than in the actual context. Comparing the novel translation and the film subtitles of *Bridget Jones's Diary*, strongly feminine forms in the subtitled version are much more frequent than the novel translation. This result reveals that both the Japanese novel translation and the film subtitle of *Bridget Jones's Diary* are inclined towards the excessive use of feminine particles. This study indicates that there is an enormous gap in language use between the translated novel, the subtitled version of *Bridget Jones's Diary,* and Japanese women's actual conversation in terms of the use of feminine particles. Furukawa (2009) suggests that translation and film subtitle of *Bridget Jones's Diary* reinforce an ideal speech style of women which stems from social expectation in Japan. Furukawa (2009) concludes that translators make social expectations of Japanese embodied in female character's speech in translated products. Mizumoto (2006) also examines the use of such particles in Japanese TV drama scripts from a linguistic standpoint.

Mizumoto's (2006) study focuses on ten feminine particles – *wa, dawa, kashira, wane, wayo, ne, yo, noyo, none and no* – which, according to Ogawa (1997) are particles that female university students consider typical feminine particles whether they actually use them or not. Mizumoto (2006, p. 88) claims that there exists a huge

gap in young female speech styles as evident in Japanese fiction and in natural conversations. Mizumoto (2006) concludes that female characters in TV dramas use feminine particles more frequently than those in reality and that drama scriptwriters deliberately assign feminine particles to female characters because they try to meet social expectations of Japanese in which Japanese women should use feminine particles.

Although a considerable number of studies on the use of feminine particles in fiction have been conducted, the use of feminine particles in dubbing has not yet been examined. In addition, very few previous studies look at individual differences of female characters. For example, Mizumoto (2006) counted the number of times female characters used feminine particles throughout the whole Japanese TV dramas, but did not compare the frequency of the use of such particles between individual characters. In addition, few previous studies consider language variation of speakers in fictional products for their analyses even though some studies revealed that there exists a great variation of speech style between Japanese women depending on their generation (Kobayashi, 1993) and occupation (Takasaki, 1993). Therefore, I decided to consider language variation of ages, occupations, and personalities of female characters in Japanese dubbing and compare different characters' use of feminine particles. In the following section, I examine my initial observation of whether

feminine particles actually appear in dubbing more frequently than those in everyday spoken Japanese, and compare the use of gendered particles by different feminine characters in the Japanese dubbing of an American TV drama.

3.3 A quantitative analysis: frequency of gendered sentence-final particles in the Japanese dubbing of an American TV drama

In this section, I examine to what extent feminine sentence-final particles are used in dubbed Japanese in order to prove my initial observation that such particles in dubbing are more frequent than those in everyday spoken Japanese. Although Furukawa (2009) has already confirmed that feminine particles in written translation and subtitling are used more frequently in real context, the frequency of the use of those in dubbing has not yet been examined. Next, I explore whether there is a difference in the frequency of the use of feminine particles among female characters in Japanese dubbing. I chose the American TV drama series, *Friends*, for quantitative analysis. There are a few reasons why I selected *Friends.* First, the lead female characters' personalities are completely different, therefore enabling us to compare various types of female characters in dubbing. Second, the setting of the story is present-day, so translators are likely to assign gendered sentence-final particles most suitable to the time. Thus, I am able to identify contemporary translation phenomena.

Third, the lead female characters of *Friends* are in their late twenties. As some studies on the use of feminine particles by Japanese women (e.g. Kobayashi, 1993; Ozaki, 1999) reveal, young Japanese women in their twenties and younger are less likely to use feminine sentence-final particles. Thus, I am able to examine whether such decline of the use of feminine particles among young Japanese women is reflected in the female characters' speech styles in Japanese dubbed version of *Friends*.

Friends, the American situation comedy television series, was aired in 236 episodes over 10 seasons from 1994 to 2004. It is a show about six friends living in the area of Manhattan, New York, who occasionally live together and share living expenses. I examine only the three lead female characters' utterances, i.e. Rachel, Monica and Phoebe. I will analyze whether any difference exists on the frequency of use of gendered particles between dubbing and reality, and among those three female characters. I will count the number of times these three female lead characters use gendered particles, based on the commonly used classification of gendered sentence-final forms, as shown in Table 1.

In order to compare the individual characters, first I need to closely examine whether the characteristics of the three lead characters fit a model of femininity in contemporary Japan. As noted in 3.1, some previous studies on gendered particles (e.g. Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; McGloin, 1990) suggest that feminine particles represent

the femininity of the speaker. According to these previous studies, a woman whose degree of feminine is high is likely to use feminine particles more frequently. In addition, as Nakamura (2010) and Okamoto (1995) point out, speech style is one way of constructing feminine identity. According to their claim, when one wants to behave in a feminine way, he/she would use feminine particles more frequently in his/her dialogue. And those feminine particles should be “strongly feminine”. Thus, we can assume that audiovisual translators assign feminine particles more frequently to a female character described as feminine in order to emphasize her femininity. But what is the definition of femininity in contemporary Japan?

The term *suteki jyoshi* (literary, “beautiful women”) is one of the models of femininity in contemporary Japan created by and used in various Japanese media (e.g. Japanese women’s magazine, *Oz plus*, 2010 September). The term *suteki jyoshi* first appeared in the Japanese TV drama, *Hotaru no hikari* (2007). This is a romantic comedy drama broadcasted in 2007 and based on the popular Japanese comic of the same title. This drama describes *suteki jyoshi* as a woman who 1) is a capable worker; 2) is always attentive to other’s need; 3) is pretty; 4) is elegant; and 5) acquires sophisticated manners such as a modest way of moving and speaking. In this drama, one of the lead female characters, Saegusa Yuuka, is portrayed as a woman who has highly desired quality of femininity in contemporary Japan. For example, she goes to

school after work to learn floral arrangement. She cleans the top of her colleagues' desks and makes herb tea for them everyday. She is not only popular among male colleagues, but also among female colleagues.

As Nakamura (2010) points out, the definition of femininity varies according to group or society. For example, according to *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009), in English spoken society, femininity is defined as "qualities that are considered to be typical of women, especially qualities that are gentle, delicate, and pretty" (p. 632). Contrary to the definition of femininity in English spoken society, in the Japanese society, attentiveness to other's needs is one of the inclusion criteria for being qualified as feminine according to the Japanese drama, *Hotaru no hikari* (2007). Likewise, consideration for others is one of criteria for *suteki jyoshi* according to a school prospectus of *Ochanomizu school of business* (2011). This school is a women's vocational school and offers a program called *suteki jyoshi kouza* (literary, "a course for beautiful women"). The purpose of this course is to develop the specific skills to become *suteki jyoshi* and its final goal is to succeed at job interviews. This school considers *suteki jyoshi* as a woman who 1) is well educated; 2) is considerate for others; 3) has grace; and 4) acquires good manners. In addition, the June issue of the Japanese women's magazine, *AneCan* (Iwafu, 2011) states that some men point out that modesty and elegance are essential for the femininity of Japanese women,

however modesty is also not an inclusion criteria for being qualified as feminine in English spoken society. These differences of the definition of femininity between the Japanese and English speaking societies might stem from the Japanese education of girls in the Meiji period (1868-1912).

In the Meiji period, young women of the elite class started to attend a women's secondary school and the Japanese government taught them the idea of "good wife and wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*). According to Inoue (2007), "the phrase 'good wife and wise mother' presents the proposition that women should contribute to the nation-state as (gendered) citizens by helping their fathers and husbands and by raising children to be royal subjects of the emperor" (p. 164). This idea of "good wife and wise mother" has instilled to Japanese that a women's role is supporting men. Thus, women who are daughters and wives of the elite and upper class, and support their men came to be desired status for women in the Japanese society. As a result of that, their quality of attentiveness to other's needs and modesty also became desired value for women in the Japanese society.

Based on the definition of femininity in contemporary Japan according to Japanese media that I examined above, I predict that an audiovisual translator would use feminine forms more frequently for more typically feminine character. For example, in the drama *Friends*, more feminine form should appear in Rachel's speech than for

Monica's and Phoebe's because Rachel is portrayed as more typically feminine. Rachel is pretty, gorgeous, charming, and popular among men. Since Rachel meets almost all of the criteria for the model of femininity, her degree of femininity is very high. On the other hand, Monica is portrayed as masculine rather than feminine since she is outspoken and bossy. Her way of speaking and moving are not elegant, so Monica does not qualify as a model of femininity. Likewise, Phoebe is definitely not qualified as a feminine character since she often uses vulgar language, and her way of speaking and moving are a far cry from femininity. It is thus natural to expect that feminine particles are assigned more frequently to Rachel than the other two female characters.

3.3.1 The result of quantitative analysis of *Friends*

Contrary to expectation, the results of the quantitative analysis of Japanese dubbing of *Friends* show that there is no significant difference in the use of feminine forms between Rachel, Monica and Phoebe. Table 3 compares the extent of sentence-final particle usage in actual speech style and in *Friends* (episode 4 and 9 in season 1). These two episodes were selected randomly. Table 3 indicates that the use of feminine forms of all three characters' in the dubbed version of *Friends* is much more frequent than actual speech style data extracted from Okamoto and Sato (1992). Masculine

forms are used 14 percent in actual language practice, however, none of the three characters of *Friends* use masculine forms. Neutral forms used in actual speech data are twice as high as those used in *Friends*. This result conforms to previous media studies (e.g. Furukawa, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006) that female characters in translated novels, film subtitles and Japanese TV dramas use feminine particles much more frequently than actual Japanese women's language practice.

Table 3 Use of gendered sentence-final particle forms in actual language practice among Japanese women and in *Friends* (episode 4 and 9 in season 1)

Sentence final particles	**Total Token Used (%)**			
	Actual speech style of Japanese women aged between 27 and 34 (Okamoto & Sato 1992)	Rachel	Monica	Phoebe
Feminine forms	**24%**	**66.49%**	**63.32%**	**56.96%**
Strongly feminine forms	12%	32.00%	36.30%	36.63%
Moderately feminine forms	12%	34.43%	25.02%	20.33%
Masculine forms	**14%**	**0%**	**0%**	**0.00%**
Strongly masculine forms	0%	0%	0%	0.00%
Moderately masculine forms	14%	0%	0%	0.00%
Neutral forms	**62%**	**33.57%**	**36.69%**	**43.04%**

As for comparing individual characters, I found that although the characters had different personalities, they all spoke in the same way. The total token of feminine forms used by Phoebe is lower than Rachel's by approximately ten percent, however,

Phoebe is the most frequent user of strongly feminine forms among all three characters. It would make sense if Rachel was the only one to be assigned feminine forms more frequently, and Monica and Phoebe were assigned neutral and masculine forms more frequently. However, feminine sentence-final particles in fact are used for all three female lead characters in *Friends*.

Table 3 shows a contradiction to the existing idea that feminine sentence-final particles represent femininity as claimed by numerous women's language studies scholars (e.g. Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; McGloin, 1990). As mentioned earlier, a female character who is portrayed as feminine should be the most frequent user of feminine particles, however, feminine particles are used for unfeminine characters, Monica and Phoebe just as much as Rachel. Since Monica is portrayed as unfeminine, feminine-specific language should be less appropriate for her. Likewise, judging from Phoebe's use of vulgar language in the source language, she is definitely an unfeminine character, however, the so-called "strongly feminine particles" are used for Phoebe too.

Moreover, it seems that the language use of female characters in *Friends* does not reflect the actual language practice among young Japanese women either. Women in their twenties and early thirties do not use strongly feminine forms such as *wa*, according to some studies on feminine sentence-final particles (e.g. Philips, 2001),

however, audiovisual translators actually use such particles for these three female characters in *Friends*. The result of this quantitative analysis shows that the language use of *Friends* is representing neither the femininity of the character nor a true reflection of language use of young Japanese women.

Since few studies have examined the difference of the frequency of the use of feminine sentence-final particles in a time span of ten years, I compare that of *Friends*, an American TV drama series, from the first season in 1994 and the final season in 2004. Considering the claim of previous studies (e.g. Endo, 2002; McGloin, 1990; Ogawa, 2006; Okamoto, 1995; Ozaki, 1997; Philips, 2001; Reynolds, 1993), which show the decrease in use of feminine particles in real life, I predicted that the frequency of use of feminine particles would decrease after ten years of broadcasting.

Table 4 Comparison of the use of gendered sentence-final particle forms in *Friends* between season one and ten

Sentence-final particles	**Total Token Used (%)**					
	Friends in season1 in 1994 (episode 4 & 9)			**Friends in season 10 in 2004 (episode 4 & 9)**		
	Rachel	Monica	Phoebe	Rachel	Monica	Phoebe
Feminine forms	**66.43%**	**62.32%**	56.96%	**80.42%**	**66.61%**	56.72%
Strongly feminine forms	32.00%	36.30%	36.63%	46.24%	31.01%	32.57%
Moderately feminine forms	34.43%	26.02%	20.33%	34.18%	35.60%	24.15%
Masculine forms	0%	0%	1.19%	0.67%	1.04%	3.02%
Strongly masculine forms	0%	0%	1.19%	0.67%	0%	0%
Moderately masculine forms	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.04%	3.02%
Neutral forms	33.57%	37.68%	41.85%	18.91%	32.35%	40.27%

However, according to Table 4, the data indicates that feminine sentence-final particles are still heavily used ten years after the first season was translated. In fact, the frequency of feminine forms made by Rachel and Monica in 2004 increased from that in 1994.

As a whole, the percentage of feminine forms in season ten is higher than that of season one. Breaking down to the individual character, Rachel uses feminine forms in season ten much more frequently than season one. The percentage of feminine forms in Rachel's utterances in season ten is 80.42 %, which is 14% higher than season one. This supports that feminine forms are overly used in dubbing. On the other hand, the total amount of neutral forms used by Rachel in season ten is almost half of that in season one. This comparison of the use of feminine particles between season one and ten shows that the frequency of use of feminine forms in season ten in fact increases, rather than deceases. The data on Table 4 shows that the Japanese dubbing industry continues to overly use feminine forms.

These data shown in Table 3 and 4 show that feminine sentence-final particles are much more frequently used in the dubbed version of the American TV drama, *Friends,* than in actual language practice and such particles are still heavily used in *Friends* after ten years. However, these quantitative analyses are insufficient for capturing the real picture of the translation phenomena for various reasons. First, the commonly

used classification developed by McGloin, 1990, Mizutani & Mizutani, 1987, Okamoto, 1995, Okamoto & Sato, 1992, and Shibamoto, 1985, as shown in Table 1 that Furukawa (2009) applied to her quantitative analyses, was not developed by observation of actual language practiced by Japanese women. Ide (1979) claims that her quantitative analysis of frequency of use of particles, according to the gender of the speaker, as shown Figure 1, was developed based on the data of the natural occurrence of university students' conversation. Although the result of Ide's (1979) quantitative analysis was based on natural data, it was not the result of observing actual language practice of various types of Japanese women. The respondents were university students, thus it does not reflect the speech style of Japanese women of all ages. In addition, Ide (1979) acknowledged that her classifications of gendered particles is based on the level spoken by women belonging to the middle or higher classes in Tokyo, which is called *Yamanote kotoba*. Moreover, Okamoto and Sato's (1992) data of actual speech style of Japanese women that Furukawa (2009) applied to her study was also developed based on language practice of middle-upper class women in Tokyo. Therefore, their characterization of women's use of particles is not an accurate reflection of language practiced by Japanese women of all ages, types and classes.

Second, the classification of gendered particles is based on the essentialist

statement: “men and women speak differently”, i.e. the dichotomy of men and women. As we have seen in 3.1, Japanese linguists (e.g. Horii, 1990; Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; Jugaku, 1979; Mizutani & Mizutani, 1987; Reynolds, 1985; Shibamoto, 1985; Shibatani, 1990) have argued sentence-final particles based on the static view that men and women speak differently. Okamoto (1995) claims that the results of these early studies reveal that “the common sex-based category *women’s language*, as opposed to the category *men’s language*, is too static and monolithic to capture variation in the speech styles of Japanese women” (p. 307). As Yukawa and Saito (2004) also point out, the dichotomy between women’s and men’s language has reinforced hegemonic gender ideologies for the Japanese. That is why Japanese adhere to a common-knowledge belief that Japanese is a gendered language. The critical problem is that scholars also believe this idea and they have developed the classification based on this dichotomy of the sexes.

Third, the classification of gendered particles as shown in Table 1 was developed based on scholars’ intuition because classification of masculine and female particle forms varies among scholars. In addition, criteria for moderately feminine and strongly feminine forms, or moderately feminine and neutral forms are not clear. For example, the feminine particle, *noyone*, is classified as a moderately feminine form in Table 1, however, Figure 1 indicates that *noyone* is used exclusively by women. Thus,

if they are classified based on the frequency, *noyone* should be classified as a strongly feminine form. Particles that are much more frequently used by either men or women are easily distinguishable, but particles that are almost equally used by either men or women such as *sa* are difficult to classify into either masculine or feminine forms. McGloin (1990) claims that the particle, *sa*, "still seems to be more common in male speech" (p. 24), even though she acknowledges that the status of *sa* is not clear-cut because both men and women use this particle. It seems that the classification of particles depend largely on scholars' intuition, rather than linguistic data of actual language use of all types of Japanese women.

Finally quantitative analysis, the mere counting the number of times gendered particles occur, is not enough to identify translation norms of Japanese dubbing. It does not concern the contexts of conversations and the relationships between addressers and addressees. Some studies of gendered particles examine the linguistic variation according to the different generations, educational backgrounds and occupations of Japanese women as opposed to the dichotomy between men's and women's language. For example, Takasaki (1993) examined the conversations of Japanese women in different occupations. Kobayashi (1993) examined that of Japanese women in different generations, and Okamoto (1995) looked at the use of gendered particles in various socio-cultural contexts. Okamoto's (1995) study reveals

that there exists a great variation in speech style of Japanese women. Okamoto (1995) suggests that their choice of feminine particles is not directly derived from the gender of the speaker, rather varies depending on the context and relationship of addressee and addresser. In the following section, I will examine whether such socio-cultural context is reflected in the use of feminine particles in other movies and TV dramas considering language variation of Japanese women.

3.4 A qualitative analysis of Japanese dubbing of American movies and TV dramas

The quantitative analysis of the American TV drama, *Friends,* reveals that feminine particles are used more frequently in dubbing than data of actual Japanese young women's language practice extracted by the study of Okamoto and Sato (1992). The result of the quantitative analysis conforms to previous media studies (e.g. Furukawa, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006). However, as discussed in the previous section, the analysis was merely counting how many times feminine particles appear in the utterances of female characters in *Friends* by using the classification of gendered particles developed based on dichotomy between masculine and feminine forms as shown in Table 1. I will now examine whether this phenomenon of Japanese dubbing - over-used feminine sentence-final particles - is found in any dubbed movies and TV

dramas other than *Friends*. In order to examine the speech style of various types of foreign female characters whose ages, occupations and personalities are different, I selected the American TV drama series, *Ally McBeal*, and three American movies, *The Devil Wears Prada*, *In Her Shoes*, and *High School Musical.* This study focuses on Japanese dubbing of American movies and TV dramas since historically those from the United States, have dominated the Japanese dubbing industry. I will consider language variation according to different occupations and personalities of the characters, the contexts of conversations, and relationships between conversational partners. First, I will closely examine whether a difference exists in the use of feminine sentence-final particles among foreign female characters and compare their use of particles with that of Japanese women in real life. Second, I will examine the pitch of dubbed-in voices of female characters in order to explore whether a difference exists in voice pitch between dubbed-in voice and Japanese women.

3.4.1 A textual analysis of dubbed scripts of American movies and TV dramas

I will analyze female characters' use of feminine particles focusing on two points. First, I will examine whether feminine particles are assigned only to foreign female characters in American movies and TV dramas who are portrayed as feminine. Since Japanese linguists (e.g. Ide, 1979; McGloin, 1990) traditionally claim that feminine

particles index the femininity of the speaker and this idea has been penetrated in Japanese society (Nakamura, 2007a, 2007b), audiovisual translators are likely to assign feminine particles more frequently to female characters who have a higher degree of femininity. The criteria for determining the degree of femininity of female characters are the same as those applied for quantitative analysis in 3.3. They are based on the description of femininity of contemporary Japan according to the Japanese TV drama, *Hotaru no hikari* (2007), the school prospectus of *Ochanomizu school of business* (2011) and the Japanese women's magazine, *AneCan* (2011). Second, I will examine whether particles used by female characters in dubbing reflects actual language practice among Japanese women based on recorded conversations of audiovisual translators and voice actresses, and studies of language variation of Japanese women (e.g. Kobayashi, 1993; Okamoto, 1995; Takasaki, 1993). For example, I will look into whether audiovisual translators use feminine particles for female characters' dialogues and compare it to Japanese women using them in the reality.

First, I will examine dubbed Japanese in *The Devil Wears Prada.* This is a comedy-drama film released in 2006, a screen adaptation of Lauren Weisberger's 2003 novel of the same title. Here, we compare the language use of two types of female characters whose occupations and personalities are different. I begin with the

language used by Andrea, the lead character of the movie. She is a second personal assistant of an editor-in-chief of *Runway* fashion magazine. The movie does not explain the exact age of Andrea, but according to the plot of the movie, she is a recent university graduate. Thus, we can predict that she is supposed to be in her mid-twenties. As for her personality, she gets used to the job as a second assistant, and she demonstrates that she is a capable assistant and attentive to other's needs. She is pretty, elegant, and well educated. Her speech style is also elegant and modest. It is assumed that since Andrea is portrayed as typically feminine, an audiovisual translator would assign the feminine particle *wa* to Andrea as shown in Example 5.

Example 5 from *The Devil Wears Prada*: Andrea addresses her boyfriend, Nate, and close friends, Lily and Doug.

English (source text)
"Don't be a jerk."

Japanese Translation (target text)
"Hidoi-***wa***. Nate."
don't be a jerk-FP(F) Nate

The context is when she tells her friends about her success in landing a particular job, and Nate, her boyfriend, teasingly comments, "the interview must be on the phone" due to Andrea's lack of style and fashion sense. In addition to this example, the translator assigns other particles *nano, no, yo, dawa* and *none* to Andrea in the same

context.

Okamoto's (1995) study reveals that strongly feminine forms such as *wa* are hardly used by female speakers between the ages of 18 and 34, however, the strongly feminine particle *wa* is in fact used for Andrea here. This example also disagrees with the data of actual language use of Japanese women. The data to which I refer are recorded conversations of audiovisual translators and voice actresses, that I collected during interviews for the present study. The participants and content of the interviews will be explained in detail in Chapter 4. The data reveals that none of the nine interviewees aged between 42 and 53 used *wa* in their utterances during the hour-long interview. Example 5 shows that Andrea's language use does not reflect Japanese women's actual language practice.

As a further example of this phenomenon, let us consider another extract from *The Devil Wears Prada*. Next is an interesting case where the feminine form *yo* is assigned to a self-employed woman, Lily, who is the best friend of Andrea and runs an art gallery. Lily seems to be the same age as Andrea. While working as an owner of the art gallery, Lily speaks decent language in the source language. However, while having conversation with her friends, she often uses vulgar language and says whatever is on her mind. In addition, she is neither attentive to other's needs nor modest. Most of the inclusion criteria for femininity are not applicable to Lily.

Compared to Andrea, Lily's portrayal is rather masculine as opposed to feminine. It is natural to expect that the translator is less likely to assign feminine particles to Lily.

Example 6 from *The Devil Wears Prada*: Lily to Andrea

English (ST)
"I don't get her."

Japanese Translation (TT)
"Shiranai hito-***yo***"
do not know *person*-FP(F)

Example 6 is the conversation between Lily and her best friend, Andrea. The audiovisual translator assigns the feminine particle *yo* to Lily's dialogue. In addition to this example, other forms *wa* and *no* are also assigned to her utterances. Example 6 disagrees with the data of recorded conversations of audiovisual translators and voice actresses, in which none of the nine interviewees used *yo* in their utterances in the hour-long interview. In addition, this example contradicts Okamoto's (1995) study. She claims that the feminine particles are less frequently used in the conversation between peers. It is also contradicts Takasaki's (1993) study of conversation of Japanese women in different occupations, which shows that self-employed women are less likely to use feminine sentence-final particles.

The point to observe here is that the audiovisual translator uses feminine particles

for the two female characters whose characteristics and occupations are different and in conversation with close friends, even though young Japanese women usually use masculine or vulgar language in such circumstances, according to Okamoto (1995). These two examples show that the speech style of female characters in Japanese dubbing is not a reflection of the actual speech practices and feminine particles are used for both feminine and unfeminine characters. It seems that feminine particles are used not for distinguishing between characteristics of these two female characters.

The next example is extracted from the American TV drama, *Ally Mcbeal*. This is an American television series that was broadcast on the Fox network from 1997 to 2002. Since Takasaki (1993) claims that professionals such as lawyers have a view that they do not need to behave in the feminine way (p. 178), I chose *Ally Mcbeal* for the analysis in order to examine whether feminine particles are used for lawyers in Japanese dubbing. The series starred Calista Flockhart in the title role as a young lawyer in her late twenties working in a fictional Boston law firm. Ally is portrayed as a rather peculiar lawyer as opposed to feminine since Ally often sees things no one else can see and she frequently lives in a fantasy world. As for Ally's degree of femininity, she is a straight talker and often uses vulgar language in the source text. Ally is not attentive to other people's needs at the office or in private life. Her way of moving is more childish than elegant. Ally's character is not typical feminine.

Example 7 is an excerpt that comes from a scene in which Richard, Ally's ex-classmate, very close friend, and current senior partner, has forced Ally to attend a meeting with some valued clients. Ally confesses to Richard that the clients make her feel nervous and inferior whenever she attends meetings. Considering their prestigious job as lawyers, and Takasaki's (1993) claim that lawyers are less likely to use feminine particles, one would assume that an audiovisual translator would use less feminine particles for Ally's dialogue.

Example 7 from *Ally McBeal* Season 1: Ally to Richard

English (ST)
"I . . . I have a problem in conference room meetings and . . . meeting with clients."

Japanese Translation (TT)
"damena-***noyo*** kaigi toka uchiawase tte *yatsu* ga"
have a problem-FP(F) *conference or* meeting QUO *thing*: vulgar expression SUB

However, contrary to expectation, *noyo*, which is classified as a strongly feminine form, is assigned to Ally's utterances. This example contradicts the actual language use of the interviewees, in which only a 53-year-old interviewee used *noyo* twice during a interview. The other eight interviewees did not use *noyo* in their utterances. In addition to this example, other feminine particles *yo* and *no* are also used for Ally in the same context. Example 7 does not reflect the language use of women in reality.

So far we have seen that feminine particles are used for various types of protagonists with varying occupations and personalities. Contrary to the claims of Kobayashi (1993), Okamoto (1995) and Takasaki (1993), and actual language use of the interviewees, feminine particles are used for all female characters regardless of their characteristics, occupations, and their interlocutor.

The next examples are extracted from *In Her Shoes*. This is a comedy-drama film released in 2005 and based on a novel of the same title by Jennifer Weiner. The story focuses on the relationship between two sisters with nothing in common but their shoes. Rose is the eldest sister in her late twenties /early thirties, who is a plain and serious lawyer in Philadelphia. She is a gloomy, conservative and mature woman. Considering her occupation as a lawyer, she is well dressed at the office, and acquires the modest way of moving and the elegant way of speaking, however her personality is portrayed as a hard-working manlike career woman instead of feminine. Example 8 is extracted from the conversation between Rose and her best friend, Amy. Rose describes how her new boy friend is like to Amy.

Example 8 from *In Her Shoes*: Rose to her best friend, Amy

English (ST)
"Trust me, look, he's gorgeous and smart and totally smoldering."

Japanese Translation (TT)

“Tonikaku iiotoko atama wa iishi sugoi sekusī-***nano***”
Anyway (he is)gorgeous [head] TOP *smart very sexy*-FP(F)

Again, contrary to the claims of Okamoto (1995) and Takasaki (1993), the sentence-final particle *nano,* categorized as a strongly feminine form, is in fact employed for a female lawyer’s conversation with her close friend. This example also disagrees with the actual language use of the interviewees, in which particle *nano* is not used in their conversations. In addition to this example, other feminine particles *no*, *noyo*, *yo*, *wane,* and *nanoyo* are also used for Rose in the conversation with her close friend and sister. Again, this example does not reflect the actual speech style among Japanese women and feminine particles are assigned to an unfeminine character.

As a further example of this phenomenon, let us look at Maggie’s utterance from the same movie, *In Her Shoes.* Maggie is totally irresponsible and is unable to hold a steady job, due to her inability to read, so she turns to alcohol and men for emotional and financial support. Currently she is homeless and unemployed, thus, her character is the exact opposite of her sister, Rose. Maggie often uses vulgar language and her way of moving is a far cry from femininity. Maggie is portrayed as a gorgeous and sexy woman but in the definition of femininity of Japan other factors such as modesty and elegance are more appropriate to the femininity. The production portrays Maggie

as vulgar rather than feminine. Thus one would predict that a translator is unlikely to assign feminine particles to Maggie. Rather, one would anticipate translations that would make Maggie use a vulgar speech style of Japanese. However, contrary to expectation, the sentence-final particle *nano*, categorized as a strongly feminine form, is assigned to her in a conversation between Maggie and Rose as shown in Example 9. Again this example contradicts the actual language use of my interview data. In addition to this example, other feminine particles *yo* and *no* are also used for Maggie in the same context.

Example 9 from *In Her Shoes*: Maggie to her sister, Rose

English (ST)
"They're all former lawyers."

Japanese Translation (ST)
"Konohitotachi wa zenin moto bengoshi-***nano***"
these people TOP *all former lawyers*-FP(F)

The important point to note here is that feminine particles are assigned to these complete opposite characters although their speech style is neither indexing femininity of the character nor reflecting the actual Japanese women's speech style.

So far we have seen the use of feminine sentence-final particles uttered by female characters who are mostly in their late twenties. As Ozaki (1999) points out,

university students who are under twenty years old do not use feminine sentence-final particles *wa*, *dawa* and *wayo*. Similar to Ozaki's (1999) study, Okamoto's (1995) study of speech style of Japanese women shows that the use of strongly feminine particles such as *wa*, *wayo*, and *kashira* are infrequent in conversation among young Japanese women aged between 18 and 20 years old. Also, Kobayashi (1993) points out that high school girls speak in almost the same manner as high school boys.

Next, I examine some excerpts from *High School Musical* to see whether feminine particles such as *wa* are used for high school girls' utterances. This is a 2006 American TV movie, aired as a Disney channel original movie. This story is about two different types of high school students who have an audition for the lead part of their school musical. For analysis of their speech style in the movie, I do not consider the degree of femininity of lead characters since the definition of femininity of contemporary Japan according to the Japanese TV drama *Hotraru no hikari* (2007), the school prospectus of *Ochanomizu school of business* (2011) and the Japanese women's magazine *AneCan* (2011), is applicable to more mature women rather than high school girls. In addition, Nakamura (2007a) also points out that femininity is associated with mature women so that I examine here only whether their use of feminine particle is reflecting actual language use of Japanese women.

The first example is Gabriella's utterance to her best friend, Taylor. This example

contradicts the claims of Kobayashi (1993), Okamoto (1995), and Ozaki (1999), and the feminine particle *wa* is used for Gabriella, a high school girl. Besides the feminine particle *wa* in this example, *no* and *yo* are also assigned to her dialogues in the same context.

Example 10 from *High School Musical*: Gabriella to her best friend, Taylor

English (ST)
"I wasn't trying to beat anyone out."

Japanese Translation (TT)
"Makasu tsumorinante nakatta-***wa***"
beat out *try* *wasn't*-FP(F)

The next example is Taylor's utterance. Taylor is Gabriella's best friend. Even in the conversation with close friend, the strongly feminine form *wa* is assigned to Taylor's utterance.

Example 11 from *High School Musical*: Taylor to her classmates

English (ST)
" . . . behold the zoo animals heralding the new year."

Japanese Translation (TT)
" . . . shinnen no otodure o tsugeteru-***wa***"
the new year GEN *the coming of* ACC *heralding*-FP(F)

This example also contradicts the claims of Kobayashi (1993), Okamoto (1995), and Ozaki (1999). In addition to this example, feminine particles *no* and *noyo* are also used for her dialogues in the same context.

The next example is an utterance of Sharpay, one of the three lead female characters in *High School Musical*. She has a dominating presence so that the production seems to deliberately emphasize her portrayal of school drama queen by unnaturally over-used feminine particles.

Example 12 from *High School Musical*: Sharpay to her fraternal twin brother, Ryan

English (ST)
"And we needn't concern ourselves with amateurs."

Japanese Translation (TT)
"Shirouto no kotonante kinishinakuteii-***wa***"
amateurs GEN *about* *need not concern*-FP(F)

This excerpt is from a conversation between Sharpay and her twin brother, Ryan. Sharpay has learned that Gabriella will audition for the lead part of the school musical, and she wants to prevent this. Since Sharpay is portrayed as a school drama queen, the unnatural speech style of Japanese women fits her persona. The use of feminine forms, in fact, functions as the marking of her drama queen personality. It makes sense for a translator to assign feminine particles to Sharpay in order to

distinguish her persona from other female characters, however, contrary to the claims of Kobayashi (1993), Okamoto (1995), and Ozaki (1999), feminine particles are used for all three high school girls in the same way.

In summary, without exception, all of the examples demonstrated in this section show that feminine sentence-final particles are continuously used in Japanese dubbing, regardless of the age, occupation, personality and social status of the characters. I have found many examples which support this observation. In the previous section, the quantitative analysis of the American TV dramas did not look at how feminine particles are actually used in dubbing, however this qualitative analysis explored whether feminine particles are used in certain circumstances according to research of variation of young Japanese women's speech (e.g. Kobayashi, 1993; Okamoto, 1995; Takasaki, 1993). I focused on the conversation between close friends, the conversation of high school girls, and the utterances of professionals such as lawyers. In addition, I compared the use of feminine particles of Japanese dubbing with actual language use of audiovisual translators and voice actresses who participated in the interview of this study. The result shows that feminine particles are assigned to all female characters in dubbing. Therefore, it indicates that audiovisual translators dub the dialogues of female characters not necessarily imitating the actual language use of Japanese women.

According to the claim of previous studies of gendered language (e.g. Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; McGloin, 1990), feminine particles represent femininity of the speaker. However, feminine particles are in fact assigned to characters whose degree of femininity is low and high, thus such particles do not index feminine character. What are those particles indexing if not femininity?

3.4.2 *Role language*

As demonstrated above, I focused on the differences among foreign female characters in the dubbing of dramas and movies. Despite the female characters having different ages, occupations and personalities, they are all foreign. Since they are foreigners in the first place, they do not need to speak in the same way as Japanese women. Let us apply Kinsui's (2003) concept of *role language* in this alternative idea. Kinsui (2003) defines the term *role language,* as follows:

> *Role language* is a role-specific language used by characters in Japanese fictional products (e.g. novels, animation, and translated films) that enables the audience who are mostly Japanese native speakers to associate it with a people belonging to a particular type of group in terms of their age, sex, nationalities, and social status. (p. 205, author's translation)

Role language is a fictional language spoken in Japanese fictional products. According to Kinsui (2007), *role language* functions most effectively for character development in fiction. In his book, Kinsui (2003) introduces various forms of *role*

language such as a fictional language only spoken by Japanese old men. The concept of *role language* has already been accepted by scholars of various disciplines (e.g. Japanese linguistics, sociology and literature) since Kinsui published his book, *Virtual Nihon-go: Yakuwari-go no nazo* in 2003. Japanese linguists have contributed to the development of the concept of *role language* by demonstrating a new form of *role language*. For example, Yoda (2007) claims that the sentence pattern of "Oh/ Ah + name of person/ person pronoun" - which is a typical expression used in translated Western literature – is a form of *role language* (p. 159). This study also attempts to support the concept of *role language* by demonstrating that Japanese spoken by foreign female characters in dubbing is a form of *role language* from a translation studies standpoint.

In Japanese dubbing, unnatural over-use feminine particles of foreign female characters enable the Japanese audience to associate it with *foreignness*. It seems that translators might be assigning feminine sentence-final particles to foreign female characters in order to emphasize how uniquely foreign women speak. The over-used feminine particles in dubbing seems very unnatural to the Japanese audience, but this unnaturalness distinguishes the foreign female characters from Japanese women. In the following section, I will identify another factor of translation norm in Japanese dubbing – exaggerated prosody of dubbed-in voices.

3.4.3 Analysis of dubbed-in voice of American movies and TV dramas

In the previous section, textual analysis of dubbed scripts of American movies and TV dramas revealed that feminine sentence-final particles are assigned to all female characters regardless of their characteristics and hence, such particles are overly used in Japanese dubbing scripts. In this section, I will examine the extent to which dubbed-in voices differ from actual Japanese women's voices in terms of voice pitch. I will analyze the voice pitch of voice actresses in which they dubbed the same sentences in Japanese as demonstrated in Examples 4 to 11 in the previous section. First, I compare the voice pitch range of dubbed-in voices with that of Japanese women.

Table 5 The voice pitch of dubbed-in voices

Name and example number	**The highest pitch (Hz)**	**The lowest pitch (Hz)**
Andrea in Example 4	625	190
Lily in Example 5	692	134
Ally in Example 6	**709**	198
Rose in Example 7	679	140
Maggie in Example 8	586	**107**
Gabriella in Example 9	682	229
Taylor in Example 10	641	181
Sharpay in Example 11	697	187
Average of voice pitch (Example 4-11)	**663.9**	**170.8**

Table 5 shows the highest, lowest, and average voice pitches of dubbed-in voices of Examples 4-11. The highest pitch is Ally's dubbed-in voice, 709 Hz and the lowest pitch is Maggie's, 107 Hz. The average of the highest pitches of voice actresses is 663.9 Hz and that of the lowest pitch is 170.8 Hz. Compared to the voice pitch of actual Japanese women examined by Ohara (1993) as shown in Table 6, the difference of the highest and the lowest pitch of dubbed-in voice seems to be very wide.

Ohara (1993) examined the voice pitch of Japanese women, aged between 22 and 29, reading sentences in Japanese and in English for exploring whether a difference exists in voice pitch between Japanese and English. Table 6 shows that the highest, lowest, and average voice pitches of Japanese women reading sentences in Japanese.

Table 6 The voice pitch of Japanese women

Participants	**The highest pitch (Hz)**	**The lowest pitch (Hz)**
F1	276	**175**
F2	289	179
F3	256	177
F4	294	186
F5	269	**175**
F6	**300**	194
The average of voice pitch	**281**	**181**

(Source: Ohara, 1993, pp. 142, author's translation)

Table 6 indicates that the highest voice pitch is 300 Hz and the lowest is 175 Hz. The average of the highest pitch is 281 Hz and that of the lowest is 181 Hz. The average pitch range of Japanese female speakers is 181 to 281 Hz as shown in Table 6, whereas the average pitch range of voice actresses is 170.8 to 663.9 Hz as shown in Table 5. Compared to the average pitch range of Japanese female speakers, that of dubbed-in voices is much wider. This means that voice actresses tend to place emphasis on prosody. A huge difference between the highest and lowest pitch of dubbed-in voice indicates that voice actresses dub with exaggerated pitch unnatural to actual Japanese women.

Next I compare the average of pitch of dubbed-in voices with that of Japanese women. Imaida (2006) examines the voice pitch of 25 Japanese women reading ten sentences in Japanese, English, and Dutch. Her study shows that the average voice pitch of Japanese women is 231.54 Hz, however, that of voice actresses of this study is about 417.4 Hz. This huge gap between the voice pitch of Japanese women and dubbed-in voices indicates that voice actresses dub with much higher pitch than Japanese women speak. The analysis of the pitch of dubbed-in voices in this section reveals that voice actresses dub foreign female characters' speech with the unnatural prosody of Japanese rather than imitating voice pitch of Japanese women.

3.5 Summary of Chapter 3

As summary of Chapter 3, the results of the analysis of translated scripts and dubbed-in voices indicate that the speech style of foreign women in dubbing differs from that of Japanese women in reality in terms of the use of sentence-final particles and the voice pitch. This difference makes the language use of dubbing sound unnatural. Such unnatural language use in dubbing is another language since it is not a reflection of everyday spoken Japanese. Thus, the unnatural speech style of foreign women in dubbing - over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody - fits to the definition of virtual language. This idea goes with the claims of Inoue (2002, 2003, 2006, 2007) and Nakamura (2007a, 2007b). They suggest that the use of feminine particles, in fact, is a modern invention. Inoue (2003) claims that the speech style of Japanese women is produced by "metalinguistic devices" such as reported speech and quotations in novels, movies, and TV dramas (p. 316). According to Inoue (2003, 2006) and Nakamura (2007a, 2007b), women's speech style is not a language produced by women in real life, but in fact, produced by media such as novels, magazines, and newspapers. Inoue (2003, 2006), Kinsui (2003) and Nakamura (2007a, 2007b) suggest that the over-use of feminine particles in fiction is in fact a virtual language since such language use of women in fiction does not mirror the actual language use of Japanese women. Thus, the use of feminine particles of

Japanese women is alive as a virtual language, and can be accepted in dubbing.

Since the results of textual analysis show that feminine particles are assigned to all female characters, we can assume that audiovisual translators purposely use feminine particles to emphasize *foreignness* of the characters. Likewise, the analysis of voice pitch of dubbed-in voices shows that voice actresses dub with the unnatural prosody of Japanese and we can assume that they purposely dub in that way. Such unnatural speech style might be a dubbing norm shared in Japanese dubbing industry. I thus hypothesize that audiovisual translators and voice actresses produce dubbed Japanese based on a Japanese dubbing norm, in which over-used feminine sentence-final particles and exaggerated prosody are purposely incorporated. In the next chapter, by interviewing dubbing translators and voice actresses, I will test my hypothesis and find out what feminine sentence-final particles represent, and why such particles are obligatorily used in dubbing.

CHAPTER IV

INTERVIEWS WITH AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATORS AND VOICE ACTRESSES

In Chapter 3, we saw that the quantitative textual analysis of American movies and TV dramas dubbed in Japanese confirmed the previous media studies' claims (e.g. Furukawa, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006) that feminine sentence-final particles are used more frequently in Japanese dubbing than those in reality. In addition, the qualitative analysis of Japanese dubbing revealed that the language use of female characters in dubbing does not reflect the actual language practice of young Japanese women. The result of the qualitative analysis contradicted my expectation in which feminine particles are attached only to the utterances of feminine characters. Thus, such feminine particles in dubbing do not represent the femininity of the character. Alternatively, I came up with the idea that such particles index *foreignness,* which is the common thread among all foreign female characters in dubbing, in addition to their sex. In order to distinguish the speech style of foreign female characters from the language practice of Japanese women, audiovisual translators deliberately attach feminine particles to the utterances of foreign female characters. Moreover, voice actresses dub foreign female characters' speech with exaggerated prosody. As a result,

such speech style of foreign female characters become the Japanese dubbing norm. Based on the result of the textual analysis of American movies and TV dramas, I hypothesize that audiovisual translators and voice actors produce Japanese dubbing based on the norm, in which over-used feminine particles and an exaggerated prosody are deliberately incorporated.

The main purpose of this chapter is to test my hypothesis by interviewing audiovisual translators and voice actresses. I asked audiovisual translators and voice actresses questions derived from the findings of the textual analysis of American movies and TV dramas in Chapter 3. The questions are as follows:

1) Do you think audiovisual translators and voice actresses have a common view of how foreign women's voices should be dubbed?

2) Do you imitate the actual speech style of Japanese women when dubbing?

3) To what types of characters do audiovisual translators assign sentence-final particles most frequently?

4) How do voice actresses dub the utterances of foreign female characters?

As Toury (1995) suggests, apart from textual analysis of translation, explicit statements made by people involved in the production of translation are necessary to reconstruct norms to explain the translational phenomena. Thus, it is necessary to hear the opinions of audiovisual translators who dub scripts of American movies and

TV dramas into Japanese and voice actresses who dub foreign female characters' voices, to account for the translational phenomenon of Japanese dubbing – the over-use of feminine particles, and the exaggerated prosody in Japanese dubbing. Although translation scholars traditionally analyze texts of finished translation products, they have yet to attempt to examine the translation process. Interviews with translators, as a method of translation analysis, have not been conducted in translation studies. In the next two sections, I present significant remarks from the interviews of audiovisual translator and voice actresses to support my arguments.

4.1 Interviews with audiovisual translators

Since directors and producers of Japanese dubbing generally do not understand scripts written in foreign language, audiovisual translators first read the scripts of the source language and watch the original movies or TV dramas. Direction, dubbed-in voice quality and tone, and performance of voice actors are based on audiovisual translators' interpretation of the original movies and TV dramas. Although some amendments might be made by directors, translated scripts are predominantly created by audiovisual translators. Thus, the deployment of feminine sentence-final particles in dubbing scripts largely depends on the decisions of audiovisual translators. Therefore, first we look at data from interviews with audiovisual translators.

4.1.1 Participants

The participants of audiovisual translators are native speakers of Japanese and have more than three years experience working as audiovisual translators. As the standard practice in translation industry, those wanting to be translators need at least three years experience to become translators. In general, dubbing companies or translation firms hire people as assistant translators who are then, in a few years, promoted to professional translators who are given the chance to translate a series of TV dramas or movies. Table 7 gives a detailed description of their gender, age bracket, and years of experience of translating as audiovisual translators.

Table 7 Characteristics of participants (audiovisual translators)

Interviewee	**Gender**	**Age bracket**	**Years of experience of translating**
A	Female	40s	19 years
B	Female	40s	16 years
C	Male	30s	Three years

Interviewee A is in her 40s and has 19 years of experience as an audiovisual translator in subtitling and dubbing. She works as an in-house translator in a dubbing company for foreign language TV dramas and movies. Interviewee B used to work with Interviewee A in the same dubbing company, but currently works as a freelance translator. Interviewee C currently works with Interviewee A in the same company

and has been dubbing American movies and TV drama series since 2008. All three audiovisual translators subtitle and dub movies and dramas from English to Japanese. They also teach translation techniques for subtitling and dubbing at an audiovisual translation school. Interviewee A and C translate scripts for dubbing and subtitling equally, whereas about 70 percent of Interviewee B's job is dubbing.

4.1.2 Interview questions

The interview questions consisted of two parts: a general question regarding gender, age, and experience in translating, followed by questions related to dubbing norms and the use of feminine sentence-final particles in dubbing. Leading questions for the audiovisual translators are as follows:

- Do you think the language use of women in dubbing differs from that of reality?
- Do you employ feminine sentence-final particles to represent femininity?
  - ✓ If no, tell me why you use such particles in dubbing.
  - ✓ If no, to what type of female characters do you frequently assign feminine particles?
- Do you think that audiovisual translators share a common view of how foreign women's speech should be dubbed?
  - ✓ If yes, please give me details.

Examples of other questions are as follows:

- Do you reflect everyday spoken Japanese in your dubbed translation?
- Have your clients asked you to use more feminine particles in your translation?
- Do you have any difficulties in translating female characters' dialogues?

All interviews were conducted in Tokyo, Japan, on the 23rd and 30th of June 2010. The interviews with A and B were conducted at the same time and the interview with C was conducted on a one-on-one setting. The average duration of an interview was approximately one hour and all interviews were recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

As the first step in our analysis, we looked at one of the leading questions: do you think the language use of women in dubbed Japanese differs from that of reality? All three translators shared the awareness that language used in everyday conversation is entirely different from that used in dubbing. Interviewee A points out that:

> Nihon no dorama ka fukikae no dorama ka wakannai youni tsukureto iwarete kyouikusaretekitan desu. Demo nihon no dorama mo dorama dakara sokorahen de hanashiteru hito no kotoba towa chigaun dayone. (Japanese)
>
> I have been trained to produce translated drama scripts that are indistinguishable from Japanese dramas scripts. However, Japanese dramas are fictional products, thus the language use in Japanese dramas also differs from everyday spoken Japanese. (author's translation).

Interviewee A told me that her company's founder always taught trainee translators that a good dubbed script should be the same as a Japanese drama script. What is important in her statement is that Japanese dramas are also fiction, in which the language use differs from real speech style in Japanese. Her statement confirms previous studies (e.g. Furukawa, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006) and my analysis, which found that a difference exists between female speakers' speech patterns in fiction and reality. Interviewee C explained that the actual language use of young Japanese women is not applicable to dubbed scripts since:

> Doramano nakano jinbutsu wa 'nantoka dawayo' sonokurai no kotoba o tsukatta houga serifu toshite naritachiyasuin desuyone. (Japanese)
>
> Unnatural language use such as ' . . . dawayo' is suitable to the utterance of female characters in dubbing. (author's translation)

Interviewee C acknowledged that everyday spoken Japanese does not fit the language use of female characters in dubbing, however, feminine forms such as *dawayo*, which are hardly used in conversations of contemporary young Japanese women makes sense in dubbing scripts.

In order to adopt a more natural way of speech for dubbed translation, translators try to listen to people's conversations at cafes, and on trains and buses. Interviewee C noticed that there are only slight differences between young women and men in terms of their speech style when observing people's conversation in public. He noticed that

young Japanese women do not use feminine particles such as *dawa*, but instead use *dayo* or *da*, which are considered masculine forms by some linguists (Ide, 1979, McGloin, 1990, Mizutani & Mizutani, 1987 and Shibamoto, 1985). Therefore, the actual language use of young Japanese women is not suitable to use for young foreign women's speech in dubbing so alternatively, Interviewee C said that he borrows the language use of Japanese comics instead of portraying actual language use of Japanese women. This statement supports the idea that audiovisual translators follow the norms of virtual language rather than that of actual language use. This corresponds to an alternative perspective on women's language studies, which claims that women's speech style functions as a virtual language (Inoue, 2002, 2003, 2006; Kinsui, 2003; Nakamura, 2007a, 2007b) and confirms the results of my textual analysis that the language use of women in Japanese dubbing is a virtual language. All participants, in fact, advise their students to borrow the language use of particular characters from Japanese comics. This means that translators pass on the norms of dubbing to the next generations.

Next, we look at the question: what feminine sentence-final particles (e.g. *wa* and *dawa*) are represented in dubbed Japanese? All three participants agree that feminine sentence-final particles do not represent the femininity of the speaker. This is contrary to the claim made by Japanese linguists (e.g. Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; McGloin, 1990)

that feminine particles represent the femininity of the speaker. If not femininity, what do such particles index in dubbing? I proceeded to ask a further question: to what types of female characters do you frequently assign feminine particles? Interviewee A answered that she assigned feminine particles (e.g. *dawa*) to characters such as wealthy matrons and women who do not have work experience, but does not use such particles for young women, regardless of their wealth. In the same way, Interviewee B does not assign feminine particles to the utterances of young women, but uses these particles for upper class and professional women such as lawyers. On the other hand, Interviewee C assigns feminine particles (e.g. *dawa*) to young women, but assigns them most frequently to the utterances of highly-educated and upper-class women. One common factor among these answers is that they use feminine particles for upper-class women. However, to whom they assign the most frequency in dubbing varies between individuals. As noted previously, feminine particles represent the femininity of the speaker (e.g. Ide, 1979, 1982, 1990; McGloin, 1990), so that a character whose personality is described as feminine should be the most frequent user of feminine particles in dubbing. However, in fact translators have their own images of particular types of characters as the most frequent users of feminine particles in dubbing. This maybe the reason why audiovisual translators assigned feminine particles to various types of women. The interview data revealed that the over-use of

feminine sentence-final particles does not function as marking feminine persona. Audiovisual translators have different ideas as to what types of female characters they assign feminine particles the most frequently so that feminine particles do not function for distinguishing individual characters.

Next, I asked the participants the critical question of whether a common view of how foreign women's speech should be dubbed exists in the dubbing industry. Interviewee C told me that:

> Honyakusha no aidade hanasukotowa naindesukedo, kyoutsuu shite motteiru nanika wa arunjyanaika tte kigashimasu. Tatoeba kinpatsu no hitowa kouiu hanashikata toka. (Japanese)
>
> We, audiovisual translators, have never talked about such a topic, but I think we have some views in common; for example how blond-haired women should speak in dubbing. (author's translation)

According to this statement by Interviewee C, individual audiovisual translators have his/her own norms on how female characters should speak in dubbing and those norms might have similarities. Interviewee C did no more than speculate that audiovisual translators might share some norms, but he acknowledged that how blond-haired women, typical stereotype of Western women, speak might be imprinted on his mind through dubbed movies and TV dramas. He told me as follows:

> Anmari kangaeteru jikan ga nakattarisuru baaimo arunode, souiu imide jibun no

> nakano riaruna mono ga deta kekka nanokanatte. (Japanese)
>
> Sometimes I do not have enough time to meet a deadline so that my dubbed scripts might be reflecting my accumulated knowledge of [how foreign women speak in dubbing]. (author's translation)

In addition, Interviewee B told me that:

> . . . naikedo, soreni nacchatterukamo shirenaiyone. Demo ishiki wa shitenai kedo. (Japanese)
>
> I do not have [imprinting], but it might influence on [my dubbed scripts]. I am not aware of it, though. (author's translation)

Although she is not aware of it, she also acknowledged that shared knowledge of how Western women speak in dubbing might affect her dubbed scripts.

I will mention two points to sum up what we have learned from the interview with audiovisual translators. First, audiovisual translators realize that dubbing norms – how foreign women's voices should be dubbed - exists in the dubbing industry, even though they do not have the chance to talk about it with other translators. They seem to have already acquired dubbing norms through watching dubbed movies and TV dramas before they became audiovisual translators. They also acknowledge that they are unaware of the fact that they follow given dubbing norms, but admit that their dubbed scripts might be influenced by this norm. Second, the interview data reveals that audiovisual translators do not imitate actual language use of contemporary young Japanese women when dubbing the dialogue of female characters in dubbed Japanese,

but rather they borrow the language used in Japanese comics. This indicates that female characters' speech style of dubbing is a virtual language, not reflecting actual language use of Japanese women.

4.2 Interviews with voice actresses

I conducted interviews with not only audiovisual translators, but also with voice actresses. As noted earlier in this chapter, deciding whether or not to attach feminine sentence-final particles to utterances of female characters relies largely upon audiovisual translators. However, unlike written translation, dubbing consists of written-to-be-spoken scripts translated by audiovisual translators and performances of the dubbing actors. Contrary to Japanese dramas and movies, Japanese dubbing consists of the acting performance of actors in a source language and a dubbed-in voice of voice actors in a target language. For example, while watching Japanese dubbing dramas and movies, a Japanese audience is unable to hear the actor's direct voice in the audience source language. Dubbed-in voices play an important role for giving information of personalities of characters being dubbed to the Japanese audience so the quality, tone, and diction of the dubbed-in voices are very significant. The results of analysis of dubbed-in voice as demonstrated in 3.4.2 revealed that voice actresses dub with higher pitch than the average pitch of Japanese women.

Dubbed-in voices with exaggerated prosody are considered one of the notable features of *translationese* in Japanese dubbing. Thus, it is important to note whether voice actresses are aware of their peculiar prosody, and if so, why do they dub female characters the way they do?

4.2.1 Participants

The participants of voice actresses are native speakers of Japanese and have more than three years experience of voice acting. Usually voice actresses take at least a few years before they start doing movies or a drama series. Generally, voice actresses begin their careers playing minor roles and then gradually move to more major roles.

First, it is necessary to introduce the details of each participant according to that indicated in Table 8. Interviewees D, E, F and H are from *Shingeki* (literally, “new theatre”). *Shingeki* is a Japanese modern theatre that was started in the late nineteenth century and was based on imported plays by writers such as Shakespeare and Ibsen (Ōzasa, 1985). Interviewees D, E, F and H started their careers as theater actresses and as they matured, they entered into the dubbing industry. Currently, a majority of their jobs have consisted of dubbing for foreign dramas and movies and compared to Interviewees I and J, their careers as voice actresses have been relatively longer. Interviewees G and I are also from *Shingeki,* but stage acting has been their main

career. Interviewee J had a different career path than the other participants. Although Interviewee J studied theatre play in college, directly upon graduation she joined a training school for voice actors and currently, works only as a voice actress.

Table 8 Characteristics of participants (voice actresses)

Interviewee	**Age**	**Years of experience acting as voice actress**	**Proportion of acting as a voice actress to overall job scope**
D	52	20 years	60-70 %
E	49	20 years	60 %
F	47	20 years	60 %
G	43	17 years	20 %
H	53	18 years	90 %
I	42	10 years	10 %
J	46	12-3 years	100 %

4.2.2 Interview questions

The interview questions consisted of two parts: general questions such as age and experience of acting, and then questions relating to their exaggerated diction, dubbing norms and the over-use of feminine particles. Leading questions for voice actresses are as follows:

- Do you think that the way of your acting in dubbing differs from that in Japanese plays, dramas, or movies?
- Do you think that you dub foreign female characters in dubbed translation with

exaggerated prosody?

- ✓ If yes, what is the purpose of your exaggerated prosody when dubbing?
- ✓ If yes, is this voluntary or compulsory?
- ✓ If that is compulsory, who asked you to act in that way?

- Do you think that voice actors share a common view of how foreign women's voices should be dubbed?
  - ✓ If yes, please you tell me what the common view is.

Examples of the other questions are as follows:

- Do you feel that dubbed women's speech style is unnatural?
- What do you think about the use of feminine particles in dubbed Japanese?

All interviews were conducted in Tokyo, Japan, from the 24th of May 2010 to 3rd June 2010. The interview settings consisted of both one-on-one interviews and group setting interviews. The average duration of an interview was approximately one hour and all interviews were recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

I concentrated on asking the voice actresses about their exaggerated prosody, their way of acting in dubbing, dubbing norms and their awareness of the overuse of feminine sentence-final particles in Japanese dubbing. First, I asked whether they think their way of performing in dubbing differs from their usual acting. Interviewees

I and J responded that there is some difference, but the difference is related to technical matters such as lip synchronization, not directly to their prosody. Interviewees D, E, F, G, and H responded that there is not much difference in their dictions when uttering women's speech in their usual acting as opposed to dubbing. It seems that dubbing diction is identical to theatrical diction.

Hirata (2004), one of the most famous Japanese playwright directors of Japanese contemporary theatre, has expressed concern over the language of theatre being exaggerated and unnatural. He is also the advocator of *Shizuka na engeki* (literally, "quiet theatre") or contemporary colloquial theatre. Contrary to the typical language use of theatre, in contemporary colloquial theatre, actors speak in a more natural way since they closely imitate how contemporary Japanese speak. Hirata (1995, 2004) explains theatre actors' exaggerated diction resulted from the direct importation of Western plays during Meiji period (1868-1912). When *shingeki*, or Japanese modern theatre started their performance based on imported plays from the West in the late 19th century, the colloquial language of plays was also imported from the West as translation, according to Hirata (2007). Translated lines of *shingeki* plays were in quite literal style and very different than everyday spoken Japanese since those lines did not reflect actual speech style at that time. Hirata (2007) points out that the critical problem of theatrical diction is related to grammatical word order and the

placement of accent in the performance since performance and vocalization technique were also imported from the West when Western plays were imported in Meiji period. Hirata (2004) explains that in Japanese language, the grammatical order can be changed rather freely, and thus Japanese native speakers tend to repeat or bring important words to the very beginning of a sentence in order to emphasize them. On the other hand, English speakers tend to stress important words. According to Hirata (2004), textbooks for *shingeki* acting suggest that *shingeki* actors should stress important words in the same way as English speakers do. For example, when saying lines “watashi wa anata ga kiraida” (“I hate you” in English), actors need to stress one of these words, *watashi*, *anata*, or *kiraida* according to what they need to emphasize in order to expressing emotions of characters (p. 141). More importantly, Hirata (2007) points out that in the process of importing Western theatrical plays actors were required to speak translated Japanese lines fluently, and their acting ability is judged based on how successful they apply this technique. As a result, exaggerated diction has become the norm in *shingeki* and later it is recognized as theatrical diction (Hirata, 2004, p. 143).

According to Interviewee J, voice actors who were also *shingeki* actors, are likely to be cast in dubbed versions of foreign movies since they are good at communicating the feelings of characters. The cast of foreign movies and dramas is thus

overwhelmingly made up of *shingeki* actors. Voice actors from *shingeki* are both performing a role, and following theatrical norms when dubbing. Gradually, theatrical diction has become accepted in the dubbing industry as a dubbing norm. As a result, theatrical diction has become the norm in the dubbing industry, and continues to spread to the Japanese audience via movies and TV. I would like to argue here that this has resulted in the imprinting on the minds of the Japanese audience of how foreign female characters' voice should be dubbed.

As evidence supporting the idea that voice actors' exaggerated prosody originating in theatrical diction, the use of exaggerated prosody is entirely the decision of the actresses according to Interviewees I and J. Regarding their performance of dubbing, directors do ask them in ambiguous ways to be "more charming", "more exaggerated", or "more sexy", but their prosody depends on their personal preference. Interviewee I told me that:

> Watashi ga mita kagiri dewa yakusha-san kojin no konomi ga ooito omoimasune. Yokuyou wa kojin tekina shumito omoimasune. (Japanese)
>
> As far as I know, the accentuation is largely a matter of the actor's personal preferences. [I] think the prosody is an individual preference. (author's translation)

Her statement indicates that although directors do not ask voice actresses to follow certain rules, as a result of the shared understanding, their dubbed-in voices are

similar in their prosody. This statement proves that individual actresses have fully acquired the exaggerated prosody as theatrical diction and voice actresses dub with their acquired prosody that has now become the dubbing norm.

Next I ask a critical question of whether they think they dub foreign female characters with exaggerated prosody. Interviewees D, E, F, G, and H answer that they do not use exaggerated prosody when dubbing. These voice actresses negate my assertion, but Interviewee F acknowledged that:

> mou mahi shichatterundeshoune, souiumonndatte. (Japanese)
>
> [I] must have already been used to it and came to think that is the way of dubbing. (author's translation)

Interviewee F acknowledges that she has gotten into the habit of dubbing foreign women's utterances with theoretical diction. Contrary to Interviewees D, E, F, G, and H, Interviewee I, whose main job is as stage actor (consisting of 90 % of the overall job scope), answers that she uses exaggerated prosody when dubbing. She still feels odd about voice actresses' exaggerated diction in Japanese dubbing. She acknowledged that:

> Kodomono koronine, terebide hora ippai atta jyanai desuka . . . sorega monosugoku iwakan ga atte. Yappari honnoutekini kimochiwaruindato omoundesuyone. (Japanese)
>
> When I was little, there were many TV shows of dubbed foreign movies, weren't

> there? . . . I felt uncomfortable [with such exaggerated diction] since then. Instinctively I feel [dubbing diction] is awkward. (author's translation)

Interviewee I has been determined never to use the exaggerated prosody that is often considered the old-fashioned dubbed-in voice, *honyaku-cho* or *translationese*, favored by senior voice actors over the decades. She confesses that since watching Japanese-dubbed versions of foreign movies on TV from her youth, she has been stunned by how Western women's voices are dubbed in Japanese. She acknowledges that she still has a hard time with the exaggerated prosody in Japanese dubbing. Until recently, she has been resistant about dubbing with exaggerated prosody, but now she finds herself reluctantly trying to adopt the norm in order to continue her career as a voice actress. The exaggerated prosody penetrated as the dubbing norm will be argued in more detail below.

The next question is whether voice actresses have shared expectations in dubbing. Interviewee F replied that she has never talked about rules for dubbing within the profession, but assumes that voice actresses have a common view of how the voices of foreign female characters should be dubbed in Japanese. She explains the formation of this common view as follows:

> Seiyou no jyosei wa fukikaede kou hanasu tte iunoga nagai jikan o kakete dekiagattandato omou. Anmokuno ryoukaide onoono ga motteiru monode senpai kara uketsugareta mono mo aru shi. Enshutsuka kara jyoseiwa konoyouni hanashiteyo tte shiji sareta kotomo aru. (Japanese)

> I think that [a common view of] how Western women speak in Japanese dubbing gradually formed over the years. It is a tacit understanding with us, but some norms have been passed on to younger generations. There are times when the directors of Japanese dubbing have asked [voice actresses] to act how women should speak in dubbing. (author's translation)

This is a good illustration of how such a common view has been formed and passed down through the generations. Interviewee G agreed with Interviewee F, and although she too has not discussed this topic with other voice actors, she also believes there exists a dubbing norm. She explains her dubbing the utterances of foreign women at the beginning of her career as a voice actress as follows:

> Kouiu hanashikata o sureba gaikokujinpoku, nihongo dakedo gaikokujinpoku sono fukikae ga seiritsusuruto omotteta jiki aru. (Japanese)
>
> Foreigner-like speech style, that was indeed Japanese, but there was a period when I thought such speech style was suitable for Japanese dubbing. (author's translation)

It is evident that the dubbing norm is not a result of having an experience in dubbing, but rather come from her experience of watching Japanese dubbed versions of foreign movies and TV dramas. In addition, she recognized a foreigner prosody was suitable for Japanese dubbing and tried to imitate such prosody in her dubbing. As further evidence of a dubbing norm in the industry, Interviewee I explained her experience of breaking the given norm.

> Shizenni shabettemite on-air mirutone nanka watashi dake shizunderu kanji ga surundesuyo, gaijin no kao to engi ni watashi no koega attenaindesu. . . . souiukoto dekiru hito ga yappri mein harimasune. (Japanese)
>
> When I saw the movie on TV which I had dubbed - mirroring how contemporary Japanese women speak - I realized that only my dubbed-in voice was depressed and unmatched to the foreign actor's facial expression and acting performance . . . [Voice actresses] who can conform to the given norm will be likely to get the lead role in Japanese dubbing. (author's translation)

She first explained how she felt while watching her dubbing diction of a foreign movie on TV and then realized that her dubbed-in voice was the only female voice that did not belong because it was very monotonous and sounded like being depressed. She wanted to act in a more realistic way, similar to *Shizuka na engeki* (quiet theatre) or "Contemporary Colloquial Theatre" characterized by the work of Hirata Oriza, who writes plays using a more natural way of speech rather than the traditional dramatic convention. She believes that actors should be able to express emotions without using exaggerated prosody, but at the same time she realizes that such a natural style of speaking is not applicable to Japanese dubbing. Her statement shows that if voice actresses want to get a lead role, they should conform to the given norm: foreigners prosody in dubbing. She has gradually accepted such exaggerated diction in dubbing in order to get a lead role.

Next, I asked voice actresses their opinion on the use of feminine particles in dubbed scripts. As previously mentioned, some actresses are unaware of their

exaggerated prosody while dubbing, however, all voice actresses are aware of the unnatural over-use of feminine particles in dubbing scripts. All interviewees acknowledged that at the beginning of their dubbing careers, they felt some discomfort at the strangeness of the dubbed speech style for women because the language used in dubbing is different from everyday spoken Japanese. For example, Interviewees G and H told me that since they are from the Kyushu region, the southern part of Japan, they hardly use feminine particles in their utterances. This is because the gender differences in the Kyushu dialect are less distinct than that of Tokyo, according to Interviewees G and H. They view the unnaturally over-used feminine particles in Japanese dubbing as another language and see such speech style as either the language use of Japanese women in Tokyo or the language use of foreign women in dubbing before they came to Tokyo.

Although voice actresses felt some discomfort at the over-used feminine particles in dubbing at the beginning of their careers, they have grown accustomed to it over the years. Now, they hardly notice the unnaturalness of such women's speech style. They have come to think that this speech style was the norm of dubbed women's speech. For example, Interviewee J considers unnaturally over-used feminine particles to be the language use of dubbing and calls it *fukikaego* or "the dubbing language". This precisely coincides with the term *dubbese* coined by Italian

audiovisual translators, as the language spoken in dubbing, not in reality, as noted in Chapter 2.

In summary of the interviews with voice actresses, there does in fact exist a dubbing norm for female characters in which they have exaggerated prosody. Even before starting their careers, voice actresses have acquired a dubbing norm through watching dubbed versions of movies and TV dramas. The dubbing norm has penetrated the industry so that voice actresses who are able to conform to the given norm are more likely to perform lead roles in Japanese dubbing.

4.3 Summary of Chapter 4

There are two significant points that I found from the interviews with audiovisual translators and voice actresses. First, there exists a dubbing norm shared by audiovisual translators and voice actresses. They have a common awareness of how foreign female characters' voices should be dubbed. They developed this awareness of foreign women's speech style through watching dubbed movies and TV dramas even before they enter the dubbing industry. Foreign women's speech style in dubbing has been imprinted in their minds. As Nakamura (2010) suggests, translators have a particular knowledge of women's speech style in translation and it might largely reflect their translation. This might apply to Japanese dubbing. Audiovisual

translators have knowledge of how the over-use of feminine particles is suitable to Japanese dubbing, and likewise, voice actresses have knowledge of what kind of prosody is suitable to delivery of the utterances of foreign women in Japanese dubbing. Audiovisual translators and voice actresses use their acquired knowledge of the dubbing norm of the over-use of feminine particles and placing exaggerated prosody for foreign women in dubbed foreign movies and TV dramas.

Second, both audiovisual translators and voice actresses recognize that the language use of women in dubbing differs from everyday spoken Japanese. Unnaturalness in dubbing is a critical tool functioning as a *role language* which distinguishes the speech style of foreign female characters in dubbing from the actual language use of Japanese young women. I thus argue that the unnatural speech style of foreign women in dubbing - over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody - marks *foreignness*, or foreigner speech style. In the next chapter, based on the findings of Chapters 3 and 4, I will discuss three major issues; 1) whether obligatory feminine sentence-final particles are a feature of Japanese *dubbese*; 2) how Japanese dubbing norm functions in dubbing; and 3) why audiovisual translators and voice actresses continue to conform to the given norm.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In Chapter 3, we saw that the over-use of feminine sentence-final particles is obligatory in Japanese dubbing. The qualitative analysis of Japanese versions of dubbed American movies and TV dramas revealed that, without exception, feminine sentence-final particles are assigned to foreign female characters in Japanese dubbing regardless of age, occupation, or personality. The analysis of the pitch of dubbed-in voices reveals that voice actresses dub foreign female characters' speech with the exaggerated pitch. The language use of female characters in dubbing, demonstrated in Chapter 3, is not a reflection of actual speech style of Japanese women. Thus, I hypothesize that audiovisual translators and voice actresses produce dubbed Japanese versions of American movies and TV dramas based on the Japanese dubbing norm; deliberately incorporating unnatural feminine sentence-final particles and exaggerating the prosody. In Chapter 4, I tested the hypothesis and learned that the interview data of audiovisual translators and voice actresses supported the hypothesis. Audiovisual translators in fact overly assign feminine particles to foreign female characters and voice actresses dub foreign women's speech with exaggerated prosody. This is due to the dubbing norm being deeply penetrated into their minds through

watching dubbed Japanese movies and dramas from childhood. Audiovisual translators and voice actresses share a common view that unnaturally over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody are suitable to Japanese dubbing. They have become familiar with this unnatural language and dub female characters depending on how they think foreign women should sound. According to the statements of Interviewee C and G, audiovisual translators and voice actresses believe the unnatural language use in Japanese dubbing fits the speech style of foreign female characters since it highlights their foreigner speech style, or f*oreignness*.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss three major issues derived from the findings in Chapters 3 and 4; 1) obligatory feminine sentence-final particles is a feature of Japanese *dubbese*; 2) how the Japanese dubbing norm functions in dubbing; and 3) why audiovisual translators and voice actresses continue to follow the given norm by applying an interdisciplinary approach involving various fields of study – translation studies, Japanese linguistics, theatre studies, and gender studies.

5.1. Obligatory feminine sentence-final particles in dubbing: Japanese *dubbese*

A textual analysis and interview data indicate that the notable features of the speech style of foreign female characters in Japanese dubbing – unnaturally over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody – are not a reflection of actual language

use of Japanese women. Audiovisual translators and voice actresses are aware that language spoken by female characters in dubbing differs from actual language use of Japanese women. I thus came to think that the unnatural speech style of foreign female characters in dubbing is a fictional or virtual language.

Theatre studies reinforces this concept. Inoue (Hirata & Inoue, 2003), a writer and contributor of significant playwrights of Japanese modern theatre, claims that the language used in plays is not an accurate reflection of everyday conversation. He explains that dialogues or conversations in plays differ from everyday spoken Japanese and the language of plays is well-conceived fictional language created by playwrights. In addition, the idea of a virtual language is also supported by the translation studies' perspective. Pavesi (2008) points out that unlike spontaneous conversation, the dialogues in dubbing are always pre-planned. According to her claim, the language use in dubbing is a translators' creation. What these claims make clear is that playwrights and translators purposely create a fictional speech style for plays and dubbing.

The idea of a virtual language is also supported by Inoue (2002, 2003, 2006), Kinsui (2003), and Nakamura (2007a, 2007b). They all agree that such speech style of women in fiction was purposely created and has been spread by the media. Inoue (2002, 2003) and Nakamura (2007b) claim that women's speech style in fiction partly

originated as a translators' invention, which drew on language observed in only very limited groups in Japan in the late 19th century. As Inoue (2002) states, Futabatei Shimei[5] and Tsubouchi Shōyō [6] needed the authentic speech voice of modern Japanese women in order to represent the translated voice of Western white women. They turned to speech style of schoolgirls, which they overheard on the street. They borrowed *teyo-dawa* speech[7] from schoolgirls, and then created a new speech style of women for fictional products including translation.

According to Tsubouchi (1969), he depicted women's characters by emphasizing the difference of variety amongst characters. He did not depict them in a way that mirrors the reality, but rather created an indexical relationship between a particular type of speech style and a particular type of group, namely *teyo-dawa* speech and schoolgirls, respectively. Female characters' speech style in fiction, or *teyo-dawa* speech, has spread to general Japanese through novels, magazines, and newspapers that have quoted such speech style of female characters. This concept of virtual language corresponds to Kinsui's concept of *role language*. Kinsui (2003) suggests that along with the decline of the speakers of *teyo-dawa* speech after World War II, such purposely-invented speech style of female characters today is likely observed

[5] Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909) was a writer and a translator. He translated Turgenev's *Svidanie*.
[6] Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935) was a writer, a critic, a playwright, and a translator. He translated the complete works of Shakespeare. Beside that, he translated a great number of other works from English to Japanese.
[7] Detailed explanation of *teyo-dawa* speech is cited in Chapter 3 (p. 42).

only in fiction and it functions as *role language*[8]. What we have learned about female speech style in fiction from a historical standpoint is that foreign female characters' speech style in fiction was originally invented for fictional products.

As interview data of audiovisual translators and voice actresses suggest, those in the field have the same view of foreign female characters' speech style being dubbing language. All audiovisual translator participants agreed that the use of feminine particles in dubbing is entirely different than that of everyday spoken Japanese. They create the dialogues of foreign female characters in dubbing by not imitating naturally occurring Japanese. They also regard the language of dubbing as a fictional language. This is explained by the concept of *dubbese,* coined by Italian audiovisual translators as noted in Chapter 2, which is a language spoken in dubbed versions of foreign movies, cartoons, and any other dubbed foreign products, according to Antonini (2008). Thus, we can say that the unnatural speech style of foreign female characters of Japanese dubbing is a type of Japanese *dubbese.*

According to Raffelli, Ross, and Pavesi (as cited in Bucaria, 2008), unnatural language use that is strongly influenced by the source language, such as unnatural words and expressions, has often been identified as a main characteristic of *dubbese*. However, the over-used feminine sentence-final particles, as one of the features of

[8] *Teyo-dawa* speech now alive as *role language* indexing the speech style of daughters of wealthy families in fiction and this speech style is called *ojyo-sama kotoba* (Kinsui, 2003).

Japanese *dubbese,* are not influenced by the source language since the source text (English text) does not contain such equally functioning particles. Likewise, Japanese *dubbese* is not influenced by the target language since it is not a reflection of actual language practice by young Japanese women. As mentioned earlier, Pavesi (as cited in Bucaria, 2008, p. 162) suggests that the language of dubbing is in compliance with "the third norm". Japanese *dubbese* is governed neither by the norm of the source language nor by the norm of the target language. Rather it is governed by its own norm – over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody are incorporated. We will discuss Japanese dubbing norm in more detail in the following section.

5.2 The norm of dubbing: unnaturalness indexing *foreignness*

Based on the textual analysis of dubbed versions of American movies and TV dramas in Chapters 3, I argue that the over-used feminine particles used for foreign female characters in dubbed Japanese is a virtual language and one of the characteristics of Japanese *dubbese*. By applying Kinsui's (2003) concept of *role language,* which is a "role-specific language used in Japanese fictions" (p. 205), this Japanese *dubbese* enables the Japanese audience to associate the unnatural speech style of foreign female characters with *foreignness*. Despite the characters having different ages, occupations and personalities, they were all foreigner to Japanese audience. The

unnaturally over-used feminine particles function to index the speech style of foreign female characters in dubbing as a whole rather than for distinguishing individual characters.

Translators add an “unnatural” flavor to Japanese dubbing in order to emphasize the *foreignness* of female characters. Repeated use of such unnatural speech style of foreign women in dubbing performatively constructs the identity of foreign women as exotic and alien. As a result of hearing and watching their speech in translated products, the translated speech style of foreign female characters has become increasingly recognized among Japanese audiences. Eventually their speech became the dubbing norm of how foreign women should speak in Japanese dubbing. Audiovisual translators continue to employ feminine particles as *role language* to take advantage of this perception..

There is a similar study in which Yoda (2007) examines the sentence pattern of “Oh/ Ah + name of person/ person pronoun” and explains how such a typical expression became “Westerner speech”, a form of *role language* (p. 177). She claims that ever since the Meiji era (1868-1912), Japan has been enthusiastically accepting the advanced Western culture through translated plays. Upon hearing a particular expression of the West, the Japanese would accept it as “Westerner speech”. Consequently, “Oh/ Ah + name of person/ person pronoun” became regarded among

general Japanese as “Westerner language”.

The same might be said of over-used feminine particles in Japanese dubbing. Similar to translated plays, historically Japanese dubbed versions of movies and TV dramas from the West have dominated the dubbing industry. Thus Japanese audiences have come to equate female speech style of dubbing with Western women’s speech style. As supporting evidence of such equalization, Interviewee C mentioned that audiovisual translators have common views as to how “blond-haired women” speak in dubbing. In addition, Interviewee F mentioned that the industry shares norms on how “Western women” speak in Japanese dubbing. The phrases “blond-haired women” and “Western women” in their statements indicate that audiovisual translators and voice actresses equate female speech style of dubbing with Western women’s speech style.

In order to determine the extent to which Western women’s speech style has become the norm of Japanese dubbing, we can look at Morita’s (2009) conference paper exploring unnatural language use in dubbed Japanese for TV shopping programs. Her paper provides convincing evidence on how Japanese audiences recognize unnatural speech style and diction in dubbing as the “speech style of foreigner[s]”. She suggests that parodies of TV shopping programs in the Japanese TV drama *HERO* are evidence that dubbing diction has been normalized. This does

not mean that such unnatural language use in dubbing has become normal but rather it has become the norm of dubbing. This normalization is also reflected in a parody of an American TV drama, *Beverly Hills, 90210* aired from 1990 to 2000 on NHK in Japan. Male and female comedians disguise themselves as Westerners by wearing blonde wigs and fake noses, and a Westerner speech style of dubbing is used. This supports that the speech style of Westerners in dubbing has become normalized. The parody reiterates that such dubbing is widely accepted by native speakers of Japanese and a good laugh implies that the speech style of dubbing is unnatural since Japanese do not speak in that way.

The studies of Yoda (2007) and Morita (2009) have shown that unnatural expressions and dubbing diction of Westerners are accepted as "speech style[s] of foreigner[s]" among Japanese audiences. The same applies to the over-use of feminine sentence-final particles and exaggerated prosody in Japanese dubbing. The unnatural speech style of Western female characters in dubbing marks *foreignness* and has spread to general Japanese as a type of Japanese *dubbese*.

5.3 Conforming to the given norm of dubbing

I have argued that an unnatural speech style functions for indexing *foreignness* and is recognized as Western women's speech style of dubbing, one characteristics of

Japanese *dubbese*. Audiovisual translators and voice actresses conform to the given dubbing norm of Western female characters. However, interview data of them also suggests that there is a budding trend to change the norm of how Western women's voices should be dubbed in Japanese dubbing, driven by directors of Japanese-dubbed movies and TV dramas. This presents us with an intriguing situation: as Hirata and Inoue (2003) points out, spoken language changes faster than written language, and furthermore, as Toury (1995) also points out, norms are unstable, and thus translational norms change as well.

According to Interviewee B, an audiovisual translator, some directors prefer dubbed Japanese scripts without any feminine sentence-final particles. In addition, Interviewee G, a voice actress, told us that:

> Direkutā-san niyotte 'mou mukashino seiyuu-san mitaini shaberuno yamete' tte hokano hito o shikatteruno o mita. (Japanese)
>
> I saw a director scold a voice actress for her style of dubbing. The director told her 'do not dub in the way that voice actresses of former days did'. (author's translation)

These statements show that a budding trend to change the norm is observed not only in dubbed scripts, but also in the prosody of dubbing. Another statement for supporting this budding trend is from Interviewee J, a voice actress, who said:

> Nachuraru rosen dewa arimasune. (Japanese)

> Currently, some directors go for the natural speech style route. (author's translation)

These three statements indicate that some directors are trying to change the conventional speech style of Japanese dubbing to be more natural, however, as the examples in Chapter 3 demonstrate, over-used feminine particles are still a remarkable feature of Japanese dubbing.

A good illustration of why it is natural to conform to the norm is found in the following statement made by Interviewee I, a voice actress.

> Souiukoto dekiru hito no houga shigoto wa attoutekini ooi, sore ga genjitsu desu. (Japanese)
>
> [Voice actresses] who can conform to the given norm will definitely get jobs much more than those who keep breaking the given norm. That is reality. (author's translation)

She made an important statement as to why voice actresses try to conform to the given norm for dubbing; it is easier to find jobs when staying within the norm. In those circumstances, naturally voice actresses follow the given norms of the industry. This statement clearly shows that the Japanese dubbing industry conforms to the accepted norms and apparently sticks to them.

The limited time for producing dubbing is another reason that audiovisual translators and voice actress tend to follow the given norm. For example, Interviewee

C, an audiovisual translator, said:

> Itsumowa shimekiri ga mijikakattari surundesuyo . . . jibunno nakani aru kotoba o shizenni dashichatteruwakedesuyone. (Japanese)
>
> I am always under pressure to meet the deadline . . . I think I might use stereotyped expression accumulated in my mind in spite of myself. (author's translation)

In addition, Interviewee I, a voice actress, explained:

> Mukouno hitowa eigao 1nenkan kurai jikan o kakete tsukuttamono o watashitachiwa 1shūkan nagakutte, mijikai tokide 1nichide tsukuru . . . monosugoi teibanna engio ateteshimatteru. (Japanese)
>
> The movies of the source language took a year to be filmed, but we took a week to dub a whole movie at the longest and took just a day at the least . . . we tend to act with very stereotypical dubbed-in voices. (author's translation)

These statements correspond to Nakamura's (2010) claim that translators' knowledge of women's speech style – how women should speak – affects the process of translating. Their knowledge of the stereotypical speech style of Western female characters in dubbing influences their dubbed Japanese scripts. Likewise, voice actresses' knowledge of the stereotypical dubbed-in voices also influences their prosody. As a consequence, audiovisual translators and voice actresses have followed the dubbing norm. Thus, although there seems to be a change in dubbing trend and more natural speech style is becoming popular, the existing norm is still dominant at present.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study has examined why the unnatural speech style of foreign female characters in dubbing – over-used feminine sentence-final particles and exaggerated prosody – has become normalized. This study attempted to explain why this particular translation phenomenon occurs in Japanese dubbing from a translation studies standpoint. This study saw translations as accepted facts by the target culture and language. I used Toury's theory of *translation norms* (1995) as a main theoretical framework and also incorporated various fields of study, namely translation studies, Japanese linguistics, history, theater studies, and gender studies instead of the mere linguistics-based analysis. In order to identify Japanese dubbing norms, I analyzed dubbed Japanese scripts and dubbed-in voices as well as audiovisual translators and voice actresses' perspectives.

Although many translation studies scholars have examined translated texts using Toury's (1995) theory of translation norms, few have attempted to explore opinions of translators in order to account for the translation phenomena. According to Toury (1995), textual analysis is not enough to fully account for the translation phenomena, directly hearing translators' awareness of translation norms was necessary to get the full picture of this phenomenon. Thus, evidence provided by actual producers made a

significant contribution toward the development of this field and has supported Toury's theory of translation norms.

First, I conducted a quantitative analysis of the American TV drama series, *Friends* to prove my observation that feminine particles are more frequently used in dubbing than in real context. The results confirmed the previous studies of media (e.g. Furukawa, 2009; Mizumoto, 2006) that feminine particles in dubbed Japanese are used more frequently than those in real context. This quantitative analysis disputes the commonly held notion of feminine particles used in previous studies.

The qualitative analysis of Japanese dubbing of movies and TV dramas, and interview data of audiovisual translators and voice actresses revealed that the unnatural speech style of Western female characters in Japanese dubbing is a virtual language differing from actual language use of Japanese women and a type of Japanese *dubbese*, which is the language spoken only in dubbing. This language indexes *foreignness* or "Westerner speech style". Unnatural speech style of dubbing, thus functions as *role language* (Kinsui, 2003), which is "role-specific language used by characters in Japanese fictional products" (p. 205).

In addition, the interview data revealed that the dubbing norm – unnatural over-used feminine particles and exaggerated prosody – has penetrated the Japanese dubbing industry. The knowledge of how Western female characters' voices should be

dubbed is shared among audiovisual translators and voice actresses so that they use the dubbing norm when producing Japanese dubbing. They conform to the given norm to keep their jobs and to comply with their deadlines. Therefore, the existing norm has yet to be broken. However, whether or how long this norm would be maintained in Japanese dubbing practice remains as a matter to be observed further.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Antonini, Rachele (2008). "The perception of dubbese: An Italian study". In D. Chiaro, C. Heiss & C. Bucaria (Eds.), *Between text and image: updating research in screen translation* (pp. 135-148). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Antonini, Rachele & Chiaro, Delia (2009). "The perception of Dubbing by Italian Audiences". In J. Diaz Cintas & G. Anderman (Eds.), *Audiovisual translation: language transfer on screen* (pp. 97-114). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baker, Mona (1992). *In Other Words: A Coursebook on Translation.* London; New York: Routledge.

Baker, Mona & Saldanha, Gabriela (Eds.), (2009). *Routledge encyclopedia of translation studies.* Milton park, Abingdon: Routledge.

Bassnett, Susan (1980, revised edition 1991). *Translation Studies.* London; New York: Routledge.

Bucaria, Chiara (2008). "Acceptance of the norm or suspension of disbelief?: The case of formulaic language in dubbese". In D. Chiaro, C. Heiss & C. Bucaria (Eds.), *Between text and image: updating research in screen translation* (pp. 149-164). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Chesterman, Andrew (1997). *Memes of Translation.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Coates, Jennifer (2004). *Women, Men and Language: a sociolinguistic account of gender difference in language. 3rd Edition.* Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Education Limited.

Crane, David & Kauffman, Marta (Executive producers). (1994/2004). *Friends.* [Television sitcom series season 1 & 10]. United States: Warner Bros. Television.

Crane, David & Kauffman, Marta (Executive producers). (1994/2004). *Friends.* [Television sitcom series season 1 & 10]. (T. Noguchi, Trans.). Tokyo: Warner Entertainment Japan.

Díaz Cintas, Jorge (2004). "In search of a theoretical framework for the study of audiovisual translation". In P. Orero (Ed.), *Topics in audiovisual translation* (pp. 21-34). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Duff, Alan (1981). *The Third Language: Recurrent Problems of Translation into English.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Eckert, Penelope & McConnell-Ginet, Sally (2003). *Language and Gender.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Endo, Orie (2002). “Dansei kotoba no bunmatsu”. [End of a sentence in men’s language]. In Gendai nihongo kenkyu-kai (Ed.), *Dansei no kotoba, shokuba hen* (pp. 33-45). Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.

Even-Zohar, Itamar (1978/2000). “The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem”. In L. Venuti (Ed.) (2000) *The translation studies readers* (pp. 192-197). London ; New York : Routledge.

Finerman, Wendy & Rosenfelt, Karen (Producers), & Frankel, David (Director). (2006). *The Devil Wears Prada.* [Motion picture]. United States: 20th Century Fox.

Finerman, Wendy & Rosenfelt, Karen (Producers), & Frankel, David (Director). (2007). *Purada o kita akuma.* [*The Devil Wears Prada*]. [Motion picture]. (J. Matsuda, Trans.). Tokyo, Japan: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment Japan.

Frawley, William (1984). “Prolegomenon to a Theory of Translation”. In W. Frewley (Ed.), *Translation: Literary, Linguistic, and Philosophical Perspectives* (pp. 159-175). Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Fukuchi Meldrum, Yukari (2009). “Translationese-Specific Linguistic Characteristics: A Corpus-Based Study of Contemporary Japanese Translationese”. *Invitation to Translation studies in Japan, 3,* 105-132.

Furukawa, Hiroko (2009). *Bridget Jones’s Femininity Constructed by Language: a comparison between the Japanese translation of ‘Bridget Jones’s Diary, and the Japanese subtitles of the film.* Retreived March 3, 2010, from the proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Poetics and Linguistics Association (PALA), 2009. Web site:
http://www.pala.ac.uk/resources/proceedings/2009/furukawa2009.pdf

Furuno, Yuri (2005). “Translationese in Japan”. In E. Hung (Ed.), *Translation and Cultural Change: Studies in History, Norms and Image-Projection* (pp. 147-160). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing Company.

Gambier, Yves (2008). “Recent developments and challenges in audiovisual translation research”. In D. Chiaro, C. Heiss & C. Bucaria (Eds.), *Between Text and Image* (pp. 11-33). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Gentzler, Edwin (2001). *Contemporary Translation Theories: Second Revised Edition.* Clevedon; Buffalo; Toronto; Sydney: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Hanson, Curtis, Scott, Ridley & Scott, Tony (Producers), & Hanson, Curtis (Director). (2005). *In Her Shoes.* [Motion picture]. United States: 20th Century Fox.

Hanson, Curtis, Scott, Ridley & Scott, Tony (Producers), & Hanson, Curtis (Director). (2007). *In Her Shoes.* [Motion picture]. (S. Miyagawa, Trans.). Tokyo, Japan: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment Japan.

Hatim, Basil & Munday, Jeremy (2004). *Translation: an advanced resource book.* New York: Routledge.

Hazeyama, Hiroko (Producer). (2007). *Hotaru no hikari.* [Television drama series]. Tokyo: Nippon Television Network Corporation.

Hirata, Oriza (1995). *Hirata Oriza no shigoto1: gendai kougo engeki no tameni.* [Hirata Oriza's jobs 1: for contemporary colloquial theatre]. Tokyo: Banseisha.

Hirata, Oriza (2004). *Engeki no kotoba.* [Language in plays]. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.

Hirata, Oriza (2007). Artist Interview: Oriza Hirata, a new opinion leader in world of contemporary theater. (2007, March). Retrieved July 30, 2010, from the Japan Foundation Performing Arts Network Japan Web site: http://www.performingarts.jp/E/art_interview/0703/1.html

Hirata, Oriza & Inoue, Hisashi (2003). *Hanashi kotoba no nihongo.* [Colloquial Japanese]. Tokyo: Shogakukan.

Holmes, James S. (1988/2000) "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies". In *Translated!, Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies, 2nd edition.* (pp. 67-80); reprinted in L. Venuti (Ed.), (2000). *The Translation studies reader* (pp. 172-85)

Horii, Reiichi (1990). *Onna no kotoba* [Women's language]. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Horii, Reiichi (1993). "Jyoseigo no seiritsu". [Formation of women's language]. *Nihongogaku* 12 (6), 100-108. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Hornby, A. S., Turnbull, J., Lea, D., Parkinson, D. & Philip, P. (Eds.). (2010). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. 8th edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ide, Sachiko (1979). *Onna no kotoba, otoko no kotoba.* [Language of women, language of men]. Tokyo: Keizai Tsushinsha.

Ide, Sachiko (1982). "Japanese sociolinguistics: Politeness and women's language". *Lingua*, 57, 357-358.

Ide, Sachiko (1990). "How and why do women speak more politely in Japanese?". In S. Ide & N. H. McGloin (Eds.), *Aspects of Japanese women's language* (pp. 63-78). Tokyo: Kuroshio publishers.

Imaida, Ayumi (2006). "Wakai jyosei no picchi henka ni miru bunkateki kihan no eikyou". [Effect of cultural norms on the variation of the pitch of young Japanese women's voice]. *Studies in Language and Culture*, vol. 27, No. 2. Graduate School of Languages and Cultures: Nagoya University.

Inoue, Miyako (2002). "Gender, language, and modernity: toward an effective history of Japanese women's language". *American Ethnologist*, 29(2), 392-422.

Inoue, Miyako (2003). "Speech without a speaking body: 'Japanese women's language' in translation". *Language & communication*, 23, 315-330.

Inoue, Miyako (2006). *Vicarious language: gender and linguistic modernity in Japan.*

Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Inoue, Miyako (2007). “Echoes of modernity: Nationalism and the enigma of ‘women's language’ in late nineteenth century Japan”. In B. S. McElhinny (Ed.), *Words, worlds, and material girls: language, gender, globalization* (pp. 157-203). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Iwafu, Reiko. (2011, June). “Jyoshiryoku towa nanda?: shiawase ni nareru! Unmei no koifuku”. [What’s femininity? You will be happy! The dress for succeeding in love]. *AneCan*. 140-148.

Jakobson, Roman (1959). “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation”. In R. A. Brower (Ed.), *On Translation* (pp. 232-239). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Jugaku, Akiko (1979). *Nihongo to onna.* [Japanese language and women]. Tokyo: Iwanami.

Kaneda, Nobuhiro (2009, July). “Wadaisaku *Gossip Girl* fukikaeban seisaku no butaiura”. [Behind the scene of making Japanese dubbing of *Gossip Girl*]. *Tsūyaku honyaku journal.* [Interpreting and Translation journal]. Tokyo: Ikarosu shuppan, 238, 88-89.

Kelly, David E. (Executive producer). (2001-02). *Ally McBeal.* [Television drama series season 5]. United States: 20th Century Fox Television.

Kelly, David E. (Executive producer). (2005). *Arii mai rabu.* [*Ally McBeal*]. [Television drama series season 5]. (M. Takayama, Trans.). Tokyo, Japan: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment Japan.

Kinsui, Satoshi (2003). *Virtual Nihon-go: Yakuwari-go no nazo*. [Virtual Japanese language: Enigma of *yakuwari-go* (role language)]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Kinsui, Satoshi (2007). *Yakuwari-go kenkyu no chihei.* [Horizons of study of *role language*]. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Kirn, Walter (2001). *Up in the air.* New York: Anchor Books.

Kobayashi, Chigusa (2007). *Onnakotoba wa dokoe kietaka?* [Where has women’s language gone?]. Tokyo: Kobunsha.

Kobayashi, Mieko (1993). “Sedai to jyoseigo: wakai sedaino kotobano chuseikani tsuite”. [The generations and women’s language: neutralization of language of young generation]. *Nihongogaku,* 12 (6), 181-192. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Kono, Ichiro (1999). *Honyaku no okite.* [Laws of translation]. Tokyo: DHC.

Kono, Ichiro (2003). *DHC Thūshinkouza: puro honyakuka yousei einichi shuppan sougou kousu, UNIT 2.* [DHC correspondence course: training for professional translators - publication of translation from English to Japanese UNIT 2].Tokyo: DHC.

Lakoff, Robin (1975). *Language and Women’s Place.* New York: Harper and Row.

Longman, Piarson (2009). *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. Fifth*

edition. Harlow; Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

McGloin, Naomi Hanaoka (1990). "Sex Difference and Sentence-Final Particles". In S. Ide & N. H. McGloin (Eds.), *Aspects of Japanese Women's Language* (pp. 23-41). Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

Miyawaki, Takao (2000). *Honyaku no Kihon: genbun doori ni Nihongo ni.* [The basics of translation: into Japanese as the original text]. Tokyo: Kenkyusha.

Mizumoto Terumi (2006). "TV drama to jitsushakai ni okeru jyosei bunmatsushi shiyou no zure ni miru gender filter". [The gap between the use of feminine sentence-final particles in reality and in TV dramas]. In Nihongo gender gakkai (Ed.), *Nihongo to gender* (pp. 73-94). Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.

Mizutani, Osamu & Mizutani, Nobuko (1987). *How to be polite in Japanese.* Tokyo: Japan Times.

Morita, Emi (2009, October). *Normalizing "unnaturalness" in translation: Dubbing "foreignness" into American home shopping programs in Japanese.* Paper presented at Japanese Studies in Southeast Asia: The past, present and future. Hanoi, Vietnam.

Munday, Jeremy (2001). *Introducing Translation Studies: Theory and Applications.* London; New York: Routledge.

Nakamura, Momoko (2007a). *Sei to Nihongo: kotoba ga tsukuru onna to otoko.* [Gender and Japanese language: the language creates women and men]. Tokyo: NHK books.

Nakamura, Momoko (2007b). *"Onnakotoba" wa tsukurareru.* Mihatsu sensho; Vol. 13. [Women's language has been created]. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.

Nakamura Momoko (2010). "Onnakotoba no rekishi". [History of 'women's language']. In M. Nakamura (Ed.). *Jyendā de manabu gengogaku.* (pp. 19-34). Kyoto: Sekaishisousha.

Nida, Eugene A. (1964). *Towards a Science of Translating.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Niranjana, Tejaswini (1992). *Sitting Translation: History, Post-structualism, and the Colonial Context.* Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press.

Ochanomi school of business. (2011). *Suteki jyoshi kouza.* [A course for beautiful women]. Retrieved from http://www.ochasuku.ac.jp/method/woman.html

Ogawa Sayuri (1997). "Gendai no wakamono kaiwa ni okeru bunmatsuhyougen no danjyosa". [The gender difference on sentence-ending expression in conversation of contemporary Japanese young people]. In *Nihongo kyōiku ronbunshū*. (pp. 205-220). Tokyo: Bonjinsha.

Ogawa Sayuri (2006). "Hanashikotoba no shujyoshi no danjyosa no jissai to ishiki – nihonngo kyoiku deno katsuyou he mukete". [Reality of and attitude toward the gender difference of final particles in colloquial language for promoting

Japanese-language teaching]. In Nihongo gender gakkai (Ed.), *Nihongo to gender* (pp. 39-51). Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.

Ohara, Yumiko (1993). "'Onna kotoba' no picchi: nichieigo no hikaku". [The pitch of Japanese women's voice: comparison of Japanese with English]. *Nihongogaku*, 12(6), 141-147. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Okamoto, Shigeko (1995). "Tasteless Japanese: Less 'Feminine' speech among young Japanese woman". In K. Hall & M. Bucholtz (Eds.), *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self* (pp. 297-325). New York: Routledge.

Okamoto, Shigeko & Shie, Sato (1992). "Less feminine speech among young Japanese females". In K. Hall, M. Bucholtz & B. Moonwomon (Eds.), *Locating power: Proceedings of the Second Berkeley Women and Language Conference* (pp. 478-88). Berkeley Women and Language Group.

Ozaki, Yoshimitsu (1997). "Jyoseisenyou keishiki no ima". [Today's female exclusive speech style] In Gendai nihongo kenkyu-kai (Ed.), *Jyosei no kotoba, shokuba hen* (pp. 33-58). Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.

Ozaki, Yoshimitsu (1999). "Jyosei-go no jyumyou". [Longevity of women's language]. *Nihongogaku*, 18(9), 60-71. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Ōzasa, Yoshio (1985). *Nihon gendai engekishi: Meiji Taishō hen.* [History of Japanese contemporary theatre: Meiji and Taisho]. Tokyo: Hakusuisha.

Pavesi, Maria (2008). "Spoken language in film dubbing: Target language norms, interference and translational routines". In D. Chiaro, C. Heiss & C. Bucaria (Eds.), *Between text and image: updating research in screen translation* (pp. 79-99). Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Philips, Mieko (2001). "Are Japanese Women Less Feminine Now? A Study of Sentence-Final in Japanese Women's Conversation". In T. E. McAuley (Eds.), *Language Change In East Asia* (pp. 70-84). Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.

Pym, Anthony (2010). *Exploring Translation Theories.* London; New York: Routledge.

Reynolds, Katue A. (1985). "Female speakers of Japanese". *Feminist Issues*, 5, 478-488.

Reynolds, Katue A. (1993). *Onna to Nihongo.* [Women and Japanese language]. Tokyo: Yūshin-dō.

Romero Fresco, Pablo (2006). "The Spanish Dubbese: A Case of (Un)idiomatic Friends". *The Journal of Specialized Translation*, 6, 134-151.

Schain, Don (Producer), & Ortega, Kenny (Director). (2006). *High School Musical.* [Television film]. United States: Disney Channel Original Movie.

Schain, Don (Producer), & Ortega, Kenny (Director). (2007). *High School Musical.* [Television film]. (M. Maeda, Trans.). Tokyo: Walt Disney Studio Japan.

Shibamoto, Janet S. (1985). *Japanese women's language.* New York: Academic Press.

Shibatani, Masayoshi (1990). *The Language of Japan.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Simon, Sherry (1996). *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Translation.* London; New York: Routledge.

Sinohara, Yasuko (2010, September). "35sai o 'suteki jyoshi' de mukaerutameno watashino migakikata". [How to transform oneself into *suteki jyoshi* before 35th birthday]. *Oz plus.* 6.

Snell-Hornby, Mary (1995). *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Takasaki, Midori (1993). "Jyoseino kotoba to kaisou". [The language of women and class]. *Nihongogaku,* 12(6), 169-180. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.

Toury, Gideon (1980). *In search of theory of translation.* Tel Aviv; Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University.

Toury, Gideon (1985). "A Rationale for Descriptive Translation". In T. Hermans (Ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation.* (pp. 14-41). London; Sydney: Croom Helm.

Toury, Gideon (1995). *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Tsubouchi, Shōyō (1969). "Imotose kagami". [A mirror of couples]. In *Meiji bungaku zenshu 16 Tsubouchi Shōyō shu* (pp. 164-248). Tokyo: Chikuma shobo. (Original work published 1886).

Ueno, Junko (2006). "Shojo and Adult Women: Linguistic Analysis of Gender Identity in *Manga* (Japanese Comics)". *Women and Language,* 29(1), 16-25.

Utano, Shōgo (2008). *Sekai no owari, aruiwa hajimari.* [The end of world or the new beginning]. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten.

Wakabayashi, Judy (1996). "Translation Theory in Japan: Familiar Ideas or Fresh Insight?". XIV World Congress of the Fédération Internationale des Tranducteurs (FIT). Vol. 2, 899-904, February 1996. Melbourne, Australia.

Yanabu, Akira (1982). *Honyakugo seiritsu jijyo.* [The circumstances of creating translated words]. Tokyo: Nihon honyakuka yousei center.

Yanabu, Akira (1998). *Honyakugo o yomu.* [Reading translationese]. Tokyo: Kobosha.

Yoda, Megumi (2007). "Seiyoujin-go 'Oh, Romio!' no bunkei". [On the Establishment and Spread of the Sentence Pattern 'Oh, Romeo!' as Westerner Language]. In S. Kinsui (Ed.), *Yakuwarigo kenkyu no chihei* (pp. 159-178). Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

Yukawa, Sumiyuki & Saito, Masami (2004). "Cultural ideologies in Japanese

language and gender studies: A theoretical review". In S. Okamoto & S. J. S. Shibamoto (Eds.), *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People,* (pp. 23-37). New York: Oxford University Press.